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ABSTRACT

These collected papers and reports, many taken from the Professional Education Seminar at the University of Northern Iowa, concentrate on the failure of inner-city education. A number of essays attempt to analyze the role of teachers, administrators, and communities in the failure of inner-city education. Also, there are several field reports on specific cities. Teacher preparation for working with disadvantaged black students in an urban setting is discussed at length. (Editor/JW)

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INNER-CITY EDUCATION:
ARE WE FAILING?

Edited by

William H. Dreier

and

John M. Earls

Collected papers and reports, many from the
Professional Education Seminar at the
University of Northern Iowa.

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FOREWORD

Throughout its history the United States has made a significant investment in education. The measure of our faith in the educational process and its importance is reflected in what we have expected of our schools. As Professor Henry Commager pointed out some years ago, the American schools, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels, have been given significant tasks to perform. They have been expected to provide an enlightened electorate, to encourage national unity, to carry on the Americanization of a large immigrant population, and to be examples of democracy in action--a place where opportunity is available to all and where achievement is rewarded without regard to economic or social circumstances.

In recent decades we have become increasingly aware that the schools have not met all of our expectations and that new problems are emerging that are not being confronted by the old patterns in our educational system. The mobility of population within the country and into the country has resulted in concentrations of people--many from areas of great educational neglect--in the large metropolitan centers of the land. We have not been prepared to make the revision in educational practice which the new problems demand. While by no means the only centers of crisis, the inner city is uniquely representative of our failure to fulfill our educational expectations for all children. In fact, we confront an obvious deterioration in the achievements which we know are essential if we are to build a society of free, dignified, self-respecting human beings.

We have been a pragmatic people. Once a problem has been identified and analyzed, we sought solutions--solutions which have not always followed traditional modes of thought or behavior. In the light of the answers given in these papers to the question: Inner-City Education: Are We Failing?, we must now move more consistently to the attack. History will not deal kindly with a people who know their problems but who fail to make the sacrifices necessary to meet them. Not the least important group of people who must exercise good judgment, develop significant initiatives, and educate a populous concerning existing problems, are the educators at all levels of American education.

We hope that the papers submitted in this publication will make it possible for many to concentrate on solving some of the significant problems that have developed and continue to exist in inner-city education.

William E. Lang
Vice President for Academic Affairs
August, 1969

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

William H. Dreier
Professor of Education
University of Northern Iowa

The challenge of teaching in the inner city came to the attention of the general public a number of years ago with the publication of such books as Black Board Jungle and Up the Down Stair Case. The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Memphis and of Robert F. Kennedy at Los Angeles and the Black student demands of Liberal Arts Colleges have caused educational leaders to consider the complexity of this problem yet to be solved by our nation. The shock waves of these events should have particular significance for the Central State Colleges and Universities located in the Bible Belt. The public and private colleges in these states were among the first to be attended by Negroes. Here some of the town and the farm boys and girls (and a very few Blacks) filled with the Protestant work ethic, initially earned a B.A. from a teachers college and then an advanced degree from a large public or private university. Many became academic scholars and educational leaders at the state and national level. These facts and the other events helped select "Inner-City Education: Are We Failing?" as the theme for the Fourth Annual Seminar of the Central State Colleges and Universities.

The public institutions of higher education in twelve central states, which trace their history back to State Teachers Colleges and to Normal Schools, work together as the Central State Colleges and Universities. Institutions in CSCU numbered 45 in 1969. They were located in towns, cities, and metropolitan areas ranging in size from a population of 1,151 to 3,550,404. Four institutions in the largest urban centers plus four in large cities were located in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, each with total populations in excess of 100,000. The majority of the CSCU members were located in cities between 10,000 and 50,000 with a median population of 17,800.

The Central State Colleges and Universities initiated a Cooperative Research Program in 1957 when ten men representing many of these institutions met at Cedar Falls on the campus of the University of Northern Iowa (then Iowa State Teachers College). Every year since a steering committee has sponsored cooperative research projects under the direction of Dr. Herbert Silvey and the Bureau of Research and Examination Services at Cedar Falls. The number of cooperating institutions has varied with the specific project and the year. In some years the CSCU membership had expanded geographically to include Ohio in the East and Colorado in the West. The core group has regularly extended from North Dakota and Minnesota in the North to Oklahoma and Missouri in the South. Study #32, Campus Environment Study, published in February, 1969, was supported by 21 institutions.

A new dimension of cooperation and concern among the Central State Colleges and Universities developed with the first Professional Education Seminar in 1965. In November of that year 40 professors from 17 institutions gathered at Cedar Falls for a series of lectures and discussion groups. The proceedings were published in 1966 as Social Foundations of Education: An Essential in the Professional Education of Teachers by Robert Beck, Merle Borrowman, Raymond Callahan and William O. Stanley.

The impact of the Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, The Equality of Educational Opportunity (Coleman) report, and other pressures had come to the midlands by 1968. Some leaders had felt Black Power and all had read about the unrest in schools in issues of Saturday Review, Phi Delta Kappan, Atlantic, and Journal of Teacher Education. Still the topic "Inner-City Education" was not acclaimed or accepted by all members of the host institution as a live, pertinent, or significant theme for the Fourth Central State Colleges and Universities Professional Education Seminar.

The Co-chairman of the seminar decided to present the topic by asking a number of educational leaders who were directly involved with different aspects of inner-city education to attend as speakers and participators. The major presentations were to support or refute the contention that inner-city education was failing. Additional contacts were made with teachers and professors in school districts, colleges, and universities involved with inner-city schools. Arrangements were made that enabled these leaders to speak directly to the Seminar by means of an amplified telephone system. Following each call came questions from the audience which were answered directly by the teacher from the field.

This report of the Inner-City Seminar differs in at least two respects from its predecessors. First, the authors have added a major address on the topic which was given in Iowa following and within three months of the Seminar. This address by F. J. Johnson is presented in Chapter VI. Second, three University of Northern Iowa leaders were asked to prepare a series of position papers, and these conclude the report with Chapter VIII. The paper on "Disadvantaged Youth and the Student Teacher" by Dan Oppleman* had been prepared in the fall of 1968, and was distributed as a resource to the Seminar members. The three remaining papers were prepared by individuals who teach the major courses in the professional education sequence which are part of the requirement for a B.A. degree and teacher certification at the University of Northern Iowa. Virginia L. Hash works with the "Teacher and Child" course; John M. Earls with "Psychology of Learning," and Edward Rutkowski with "Social Foundations of Education".

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*The paper later appeared in the January-February, 1969, issue of Midland Schools and is used with permission.

Chapters II through VI come from educators with a background of teaching in large and small cities and in rural areas. The authors have a wide range of academic degrees and positions. Richard G. Larson, author of Chapter II, has a long-time interest in teacher preparation at both pre-service and in-service levels and is currently Director of Urban Education, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee. Robert R. Wheeler, who prepared Chapter III, served as teacher, counselor and Vice-Principal before becoming Assistant Superintendent, Division of Urban Education, Kansas City.

Harold Spears worked for years as curriculum director before becoming Superintendent of Schools at San Francisco. He presently is Visiting Professor at Indiana University. Combining the academic, community, and society concern in a unique way is the job of Willard J. Congreve, who wrote Chapter V. In 1968 he was on leave from the University of Chicago and was working as Director of the Chicago Comprehensive Project - Woodlawn with the Chicago Public Schools.

Late in 1968 the Iowa Teacher Education and Professional Standards Conference had as one of their speakers F. J. Johnson. He had been a teacher in a number of large city districts before assuming the position of Professional Service Coordinator for the Association of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association. His paper is included as Chapter VI.

No publication is completely the work of just those whose names appear in the table of contents. A key person in the background of the Seminar was Donald H. Smith, who in the summer of 1968 spent several days on the campus at Cedar Falls. At that time he was Director of the Center for Inner-City Studies, Northeastern Illinois State College. He was consulted about seminar leaders along with Henry W. Parker, then Assistant Professor of Latin at the University of Northern Iowa. With their help it was determined who would be asked to attend and who would present their experiences as inner-city educators over the telephone to the Seminar. From the seven field reports presented at the Seminar, Chapter VII includes the ones from Northeastern Illinois State College, Fisk University, Texas Southern University and a longer, more detailed report by the host school.

The question mark has been used with the title of this report. While it may be documented that inner-city education is failing, that conclusion can also be questioned. The speeches, field reports and position papers are presented with the hope they will stimulate changes and innovations for better teacher preparation for inner-city education. If this area of education fails, then the community fails, society fails, and the future of the profession is, in the words of the cynic, "only an academic question".

Chapter Two

WHY TEACHERS FAIL IN INNER-CITY EDUCATION

Richard G. Larson
Director of Urban Education
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

I have elected to begin by reading something to you. I call it "Some Subliminal Second Thoughts from the Secret Diary of a Discontented Schoolmarm." It's O.K., it's respectable. The content goes like this, "He was in my classroom but he didn't choose to be there. He didn't choose this school, and he didn't choose me as his teacher. He didn't select his father's income, his mother's absence, or his crowded house. He didn't choose to confound my pet curriculum and my pet teaching prescription. He didn't choose to value different things than I or to speak in a different, albeit more colorful idiom. He just didn't choose. He can't smile nicely when his world tells him to feel angry, nor can he frown away warmth and fair play. His mask is not like mine. He could never comprehend the gap that separates his mercuric moods from my pale, practiced rightness. He didn't decide one day to shape his nose, his brow, or his mouth into forms that trigger my discomfort and my disdain. He doesn't know that he won't learn if I don't think he can; that my eyes and my voice limit his circle of friends. He doesn't know how much his future depends on me. He just doesn't know."[1] Now it seems to me that in one way or another the teacher who has not asked himself about some subliminal second thoughts of his own may fail. He may fail slowly and painfully, almost without recognizing that failure, or he may go down in cataclysmic flames; but fail he will, if the second thoughts don't come and he relied on the first ones, the ones that we gave him.

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[1] Richard C. Larson, "The Secret Diary of a Discontented Schoolmarm", Wisconsin Journal of Education, (October, 1968) p. 14.

I like to think of teaching as an emotional, intellectual adventure. I like to think of teaching as an act combining the mystical artistry of the sensitive soul with the hardnosed demands of the taskmaster. I'd like to see teachers raise some questions that take a lifetime to answer and others that satisfy now, so that both the teacher and the student look forward to tomorrow. I'd like to think of classrooms as places where both successes and struggle were daily fare; where controversy raged; where students talked to one another about their differences as well as their sameness, and where independence and responsibility grew. You would, too, I'm sure. But the bookshelves tell another story today -- look at them and we see Death at an Early Age. We see Our Children Are Dying, Education for Alienation, The School as a Factory, Walk the White Line. These aren't the same kinds of criticisms that grew up a decade ago, when Sputnik spirited a sudden effort to teach science to middle-class minds in an atmosphere of academic excellence. These are cries of despair. They don't speak of weakness -- they warn of collapse. Teachers do fail. The momumental evidence of that failure is surpassed only by our awareness that boys and girls differ physiologically, and that high school seniors are bigger than second-graders. Teachers leave inner-city assignments by the thousands while others leave the profession rather than confronting that failure.

In the era just passed, before the students, the militant blacks and the angry poor showed signs of organizing to improve schools, the worst teachers the profession had to offer could hide comfortably in their castles, protected by teacher shortages and by commonly held notions about the intellectual inferiority of poor people. And while our heads were turned, critics began to peek under our public relations rug and found the incredible school achievement deficits being shouldered by those we would rather not teach. While children of the poor came to school with minimal orientations for that institution, and with a lack of preparation for formal school learning, we watched the academic deficits grow. We changed with characteristic ineptness -- too little, too late. While we fumbled to assuage our guilt, the conditions of the inner city grew to their present proportions, to wit:

1. There is serious doubt that the problems of the inner-city school can be solved within the framework of public education.
2. In many cities, effective communications between the schools and their constituents have completely broken down.
3. Violence committed by teachers and children has grown to be commonplace in some places.
4. The ranks of uneducated grow daily.
5. The culturally disadvantaged of white suburban America have remained untouched except for the growing paranoia; while we feared integration for fifteen years, we now also fear that black strength and unity waxed strong by the separatism that we insisted upon.

Why do teachers fail in inner-city education? It would be very easy and comforting to blame it all on racial tension, or to blame those other institutions: the credit store chiseler, slum landlords, crowded homes, high priced merchants. But that's too easy. Teachers fail because we don't prepare them. They fail because we drop them in classrooms and forget about them. They fail because they become dehumanized prisoners of the establishment without any help or recourse.

I think that this is your most important business. I think it is because all teachers, wherever they're trained, will spend some time teaching in an urban setting. I think it's your most important business because virtually all of them, and us, are culturally deprived, economically smug, and racially bigoted. I think it's our most important business because we have maintained a middle-class institution for middle-class whites only; we've had a hand in making this mess and we have a moral obligation to get out of it.

We've built a model. The model is outdated. In many places the model is suited only to a rural yesterday. It teaches people to fit in a dysfunctional system. The field work is too often artificial. Students work alone in selected classrooms, emulating teachers that we trained ten years ago. I'm not belittling experience, but I'm saying that maybe the best models for students left the profession ten years ago. Our field work provides some vague notions about loving children, lesson plans, teachers' guide books, institutional propriety, but little, for example, about working on a professional team, about differentiating instruction, about effecting change, about coping with crises that happen daily.

The field work, while being artificial, is also insufficient. Virtually nothing is done during the first two years of teacher preparation. There is no field connection between the nature of the community and Sociology 101. Candidates for teaching take speech, but learn little about communicating with parents or about reading nonverbal cues, or about the anatomy of a conference, or about how to stop being defensive about the school. They take American History where the black man's world is portrayed as a silent shuffling behind Booker T. Washington. They take English, but learn nothing of dialect. Or, they might take learning theory courses. These acquaint the teacher candidate with a variety of theoretical groundings and/or laboratory points of view. Typically, any immediate application to classroom learning is virtually impossible, since white rats neither summarize personal experience nor attend school. The leap from theoretical hunches to classroom learning theory is seldom made when the teacher goes to work because she is then learning the real scoop from the teacher across the hall and the person who told her all that stuff in the first place is, after all, in the psychology department and therefore doesn't count.

Teacher education bears the symptoms of the caterpillar syndrome. Fuzzy coated and well camouflaged, it humps and wiggles its way from plant to plant. At the time when radical changes are about to take place it spins a cocoon and insulates itself in surrounding environment. Teacher preparation too often reflects but a limited relationship to the tough complexities. How can schools respond to the wide range of learning styles that characterize youth? What are effective ways for teacher to redirect students with behavior problems? What outside resources might one enlist to broaden school learning? What constitutes effective communications with the community? How can you teach those you hate, when you've neither been taught well to do the teaching or taught at all to stop the hating?

The modelis culturally sterile. The model, students tell me, is irrelevant. They don't believe in us much any more. We are to them satisfied establishment men. The education students at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee have organized, and they're active and concerned, and they're saying we're not getting what we should get. We're being shortchanged and you're going to change it for us.

I have another suspicion that somewhere along the line we teachers get a magical sense of fundamental, absolute wisdom that alludes me. Do we teach that research is, after all, a graduate school exercise and little else? The research point of view among teachers is so uncommon that

Robert Linn was probably right. Research without value decisions becomes the ditty bag of idiots filled with random meaningless hoardings. Teachers have little sense of alternative solutions to the disparate problems that beseige them. If Mandrake or God will stop whispering in their ears, we might be about the business of developing a sense of tentativeness among teachers concerning their classroom behaviors. If we can, research will take on a refreshing and practical meaning.

Let's take a closer look at the causes for the failure of teachers in the inner city. It seems to me that one of them is that we treat kids that lack institutional savvy -- that is, the ability to exist successfully in a bureaucratic environment -- as though they were either programmed automatons or sophisticated executives. Inner-city kids often don't have a lot of real survival skills with them when they arrive at school. They're too busy surviving themselves. Let me give you an example of what I mean by institutional savvy.

My son, who is seven, was in the lavatory with two other boys when the librarian came in and the boys were giving karate chops to paper toweling and the librarian said, "That's very noisy, you shouldn't give karate chops to paper toweling in here," and he sent my son to the principal. The principal said, "Why are you here?" and my son said, "Because I was giving karate chops to paper toweling in the boys' lavatory." The principal told him that he shouldn't do that, and he told him that he must go home and tell his father what he had done. Well, he came home and said, "Dad, I was sent to the principal," and I said "Why Hans?" -- that's his name, Hans. He said he was giving karate cops to paper toweling in the boys' lavatory.

Now, I want you to understand that I don't have any big ethical hangup about giving karate chops to paper toweling. I really don't. It's not a big problem for me. So I said to him, "Hans, I don't care if you give karate chops to paper toweling in the boys' lavatory, I really don't care. But if you elect to, it's likely that the male librarian will come in and stop you, and send you to the principal; therefore, it might be prudent if you chose not to give karate chops to paper toweling in the boys' lavatory." Well, he chose not to. I think he got enough institutional savvy so that he could survive in that second grade classroom. Incidentally, as a little aside, I told that story to a first grade teacher in the inner city and she said, "Funny thing, I told my kids that the paper is so cheap that it tears very easily and that the only way that they can get it off the roll is to go like this - - - -."

Our response to differences among youngsters is to intensify the symptoms of bureaupathology. So we make more rules. We become more rigid. We create more dehumanization, and subsequently, we have more failures, both on the part of youngsters and on the part of teachers. First, we organize him so he has some institutional space and time, much as Elizabeth Eddy describes to us in Walk the White Line. We give him his space under the desk and on top of it with a little on each side, which can be expanded with appropriate kinds of signals. Then we silence him. We silence him with a hierarchical ordering of interaction between people that grows more rigid as the institution changes. Philip Jackson tells us that the major characteristic of the successful student in today's school is patience.[2] He's put in a place where interaction between one another is most natural, but the institution expects silence and he's got to master patience or he's sunk.

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[2] Phillip W. Jackson, Life in Classrooms, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

Finally, we give him someone else's curriculum and label him stupid because he doesn't fit it. Usually, we've gone through the practice of listing "developmental characteristics" that describe youngsters at a given age level. Then, from these characteristics, we extract appropriate content in various areas and match that content with activities -- and that's our curriculum. We run into problems once in a while if the developmental characteristics listed are like those for nine to eleven year olds that were taken from a Wisconsin State Curriculum Bulletin in Social Studies.[3] For example: 1) the child at this age is becoming increasingly better controlled in the expression of his emotions. On the surface he appears quite serene and placid; 2) the nine to eleven year old is rapidly developing self-confidence; 3) the span of attention of a nine to eleven year old is almost endless; 4) when home alone, he is completely absorbed in a radio or television, or in making scrapbooks; 5) a marked step to maturity is evidenced in judgment, ability to comprehend, make generalizations, and do reflective thinking; 6) he can meet disappointments, accept criticism, and profit by the experience; 7) he has longer periods of sustained effort in school. What if a youngster came to school and doesn't fit those developmental characteristics and the curriculum that was built from them? Then he is atypical. If he's atypical in the eyes of the school, and in the eyes of the teacher, failure is insured. The school has become a prison and both the student and the teachers are prisoners.

Another reason that I think teachers fail is that they themselves have little awareness of their own organizational existence. What is the cultural nature of the animal called "school"? How do groups, both formal and informal, behave, and why? What causes institutional stress? How does change occur? What are the dynamics of institutional behavior? What impact can a teacher or a group of teachers have on the school organization? To give an example, organizational science will tell us that there is a relationship between involvement in a task and commitment to that task. We see curriculum developed on a systematized basis with teachers having to deviate from that curriculum. On a research I recently completed in one school system, the deviations from system-wide curricula for inner- and outer-city teachers were compared. The inner-city teachers deviated more significantly from the curriculum, but had to do so independently and in a subterranean fashion.

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[3] Wisconsin Cooperative Educational Planning Program, Guides to Curriculum Building, State Curriculum Bulletin No. 12, (Madison Wisconsin: State Department of Education, June, 1962.)

Another example: there is a relationship between classroom control and the pupil's opportunity to develop the social interaction which the schoolroom climate naturally invites. But the new teacher has to learn this herself, against the obstacle of the teacher across the hall telling her that it is important to be strict. I call it the "firm but fair syndrome". It starts at the beginning of the school career for the youngster and the new teacher interprets "firm but fair" to mean rigidity, inflexibility and silence, and so on, until the youngster spends a year that way, and another year in the next grade, and we get a fired-up sixth grade teacher who says, "I'm going to change that. There are going to be some relevant experiences in my classroom." He tries it, and the lid blows off. It's a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Another example: there is a relationship between the length of sociometric chains in the classroom and group cohesiveness. And it's the teacher's business to build cohesiveness so she can work with a group. But she's got to find that out in her studies and not accidentally.

Teachers are simply not aware of the intricacies involved in existing in a bureacratized institutional school environment. The pervasive influence of the principal, itinerant supervisors, schedules, policies, and mandatory curricula provide ample institutional rigidity and assurance that little unexpected will take place in the classroom. It is not surprising that innovations and new ideas seldom are initiated by teachers, nor is it surprising that their enthusiasm wanes. Teacher status in a building, or in a school system, or in a community reflects his bureaucratized position and should indicate to the teacher the distance that he needs to travel to get things done. Some say the school is a factory, and some add that we train the foremen.

It seems to me that the problem is this: what skills can the teacher be given to equip him to assist in altering the school setting that is similar to and equally as inappropriate as the training program that readied him for that setting? At what point can the chain of meaninglessness be broken? It's my contention that new teachers can become more effective educators if they're made aware beforehand of the institutional environment in which they will work and of the degree to which those conditions are consonant with educational goals that matter. Only when this happens will teachers have a fair chance of overcoming the educational obstacles that they face.

I think another obvious reason for failure is the enormity of the culture clash the teachers undergo. Their "right" values have been enforced by the teacher's preparation, only to be challenged by children who didn't go through that preparation. Maybe Frank Riessman had something when he said, "Youngsters six years old that we call apathetic are not being quiet because of a language problem, but rather because the cultural gap between them and the teacher forces their mouths shut."

Our heritage of hate is deep and has taken many years to develop. I have a wonderful old textbook here written by Fanny Coe and it's called "The World and Its People, Our American Neighbors." It's a good example, I think, of how we've been taught through the generations to "respect differences in people." Fanny got down to Central America and she said, "The people make a fatal error of never doing today what they can put off until tomorrow. The national vice of all these republics is indolence." She goes on to say, "The native of Chile is very proud of the leading place which his country holds among the other states of South America. He thinks the U. S. is the only country to compare with his; but if you should tell him that it is the English who made Chile an enterprising nation, he would give you a terrible look out of his haughty Spanish eyes and perhaps draw that murderous Chilean knife that he is only too ready to introduce into conversation over the slightest pretext." Fanny left there and traveled some more. She said this about the Indians who live in Tierra del Fuego: "They are among the lowest people on the face of the globe. They are repulsively ugly and have very little intelligence."

We have a heritage of learning how to value differences in people. We get it from other places, too. This book was written in 1831. It's a religious book. The title is, "Friendly Society Sermons to Which Are Added Few for Charitable Societies, All Written With the Same Object of Setting Forth the Causes of Distress Among the Poor, and of Pointing Out the Proper Remedies for its Removal on Scriptual Principles, by One Who Has Had Much Practical Acquaintance With the Conditions of the Poor, the Minister of a Country Parish." Now some of us were taught, you know, that people are poor for one of two reasons. In a land of opportunity like ours, where anybody can make it who really wants to, there are only two reasons left why someone doesn't have any money. One, of course, he's lazy; and two, of course, he's inferior. Listen to this. "If any provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel. Words of plainer meaning or stronger expression cannot well be conceived than those which the apostle here has made use of to inculcate a duty which must ever be considered as necessary for the temporal happiness of mankind. By this rule it is clearly enforceably established that every Christian man is bound to provide a maintenance for his own family and to keep them as far as he is able from being thrown on the bounty of others. Negligence herein is stated to be a crime and such stress is laid on the observance of the precept that he who disregards it is placed on a lower level than a heathen or an infidel."

I remember singing barbershop quartet stuff and one of the numbers that is popular in barbershop quartet singing is "After Dark." I don't know if any of you know it. "After Dark" goes like this: "After dark when everything is still, and the moon comes creeping o'er the hill, I'll be waiting patiently for you, for I love you true, yes indeed I do, my honey. Come along among the everglades, watch the coons, see how they promenade. You're my everloving queen of all the dusky maids, for you're my moonlight Lou." It occurred to me after singing that song, that it's really all about the hanky panky that went on on plantations for years. That it's part of our culture.

Blue corpuscles; teachers have them, just as we do. Those are the little corpuscles that are activated when we're confronted with people who differ, or hate differently, or value different things than we do. So while I can be sure that it's appropriate to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean and reverent, when someone else suggests by their behavior that they don't believe as I do, why they're wrong, of course. Teachers see it in the coffee room all the time. "That Johnny Jones, is that kid dumb?" "You know I visited Mrs. Smith's home and she offered me cake. Can you imagine eating cake in Mrs. Smith's home?" "I don't know why I waste my time working so hard to help that Jones boy. All he'll do is go back and be dissatisfied with his environment." Or the kindergarten teacher who ran up to me in the hall one day after standing, giggling with a bunch of teachers, recently after the first black man had been added to the staff, and she said, "Mr. X bought a car and I knew it would be purple." It wasn't purple, it was wine. Blue corpuscles.

We're mistake-oriented people in school, and that helps teachers and youngsters to fail at the same time. Rudolph Dreikurs talks about our pre-occupation with perfection.[4] Mistakes become wrong. Not making mistakes becomes right. So the youngster who is atypical in school, and feels he might make a mistake because the institution threatens him in that way is more likely to make one. So he doesn't have the luxury of confidence. Our expectations are low. Read Davidson and Lyon's study of the relationship between youngsters' perceptions of how teachers feel about them and other factors such as achievement, socio-economic status, race, and sex, and guess who's on the bottom of the pile. Those who feel that teachers think least of them are boys, and their achievement is lowest. The next lowest step is low-income boys, and their perceptions of teachers' feelings about them are also lower.

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[4] Rudolph Dreikurs, "The Courage to be Imperfect," tape transcription.

I remember a teacher in a graduate class one night who said this to another teacher. "I'll bet if I had two cumulative folders on the same youngster, and if the only information on the first one was that father is a Ph.D., mother is president of AAUW, lives in the outer-city and that there are two children; and if the other folder said that mother works at a restaurant, father is part-time worker at a foundry, there are eleven children, and an inner-city address, would that affect your perception of the youngster at all?" The other teacher said, "No; no it wouldn't." At the end of the class period we asked ten people arbitrarily to stand up, and we numbered them off, and the rest of the class ranked them on what we thought was their intellectual capacity (from one to thirty-five, since there were thirty-five people in the class). After getting a judgment about these teachers' intelligence we forgot about it until the next week. At break time we read a phony announcement about one of the ten who had been rated the previous week: "The Chancellor and the Dean of the School of Education are pleased to present this academic honor to Mrs. X for her outstanding scholarship in preparing an article on graduate courses in education. It is the first article that's been accepted by the Journal of Teacher Education from a graduate student at this University. The University applauds you. Congratulations Mrs. X." Everybody applauded and we had coffee. And at the end of the class, the same ten stood up and we rated them again. What happened to Mrs. X? Her score went up four and a half points. Blue corpuscles are very active.

One new teacher wrote this, privately, in a journal that she kept about her experiences. "I have come to realize what an important part my background has played in influencing my views toward the Negro. Although I have moved into an area where Negro families live near, I have not gotten to know any yet. I have a kind of fear. I'm not able to look at a Negro without seeing his color first. There are a few classmates here at the University and that helps a little bit. But in my home they are always referred to as "niggers" and the area that they live in is the 'black forest,' and when there is a civil rights demonstration or something more violent such as the Watts Riot, one member of my family will say, 'They ought to slaughter all of them.' I don't want to blame my environment for my outlook, but I am aware that there is something there that I have to learn to overcome." That teacher is teaching school now and at least has a beginning of some kind of awareness.

Here is another reason why teachers fail. It seems to me they attempt to match an inappropriate teaching model with an unreal dream. The model, which they get from grade school to graduate school, is: teacher talks and tests, children listen, read, and write. So we teachers of teachers lecture about individualized instruction, we lecture about utilizing pupils' concerns, we discuss role playing. It is not very surprising that teachers do the same thing: lecture! And they do. We made a study recently of sixty-five inner-city teachers who during the summer time had only twelve to fifteen kids in their classrooms. They had complete curricular freedom. We sent observers around to see how many activities were going on in the classroom and who was talking, and to whom. Then, six weeks after school had started when they had thirty or thirty-five pupils, we sent the same observers back to observe the same thing. In both instances, the model behavior was -- teacher talks to everybody and everybody listens. That's the model. The dream, which comes from their homes, from their friends, from inherited, well assimilated bigotry, and from soft-spoken value judgments by teacher trainers, is a dream for pastel-walled, curtained, low-ceilinged, quiet, "nice" classrooms filled with obedient youngsters. Both the dream and the model are dysfunctional for teachers in suburbia, as well as in the urban core. Both help teachers to fail.

Teachers in undergraduate training have little voice in their academic destiny. They usually do not sit on education committees; they usually do not have clear channels for having their views heard; they usually do not have effective organizations of their own. So when they become teachers it is not surprising that powerlessness is evident there, too. We do hear some rumblings about teacher welfare, school discipline, and salary; not much noise, however, about who should select which teachers for my school, how to involve the community in school concerns, the rights of children to fair treatment as human beings, or what constitutes an appropriate curriculum.

Let me summarize for just a moment. Teacher failure is our failure. I've said that I think it occurs through rigidity in the schools, through teacher naivete about institutions, through cultural and racial biases, through inappropriate training, and through political powerlessness. The sad yet hopeful irony of teachers facing today's world of poverty, waste, exploitation, bigotry, and human suffering is that, while neither their backgrounds nor their lumbering institutions have prepared them to cope with today's realities, the nation expects them to cut a swath through the most complex and critical of social problems. The waddling loony bird must overnight become a soaring eagle. And the transformation can take place -- we live in a miraculous world.

I think we can save teachers from failing, but first let me suggest that making sensitive souls is not enough. The NDEA experience with Institutes for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, which emphasized attitude change, and the understanding of cultural backgrounds, left teachers feeling better about children, but without much new knowledge about the teaching act. In a program for 65 inner-city elementary teachers in Milwaukee this last summer, the teachers spent their time first, learning about the school as an institution from organizational science people; second, considering school-community involvement, with parents in the neighborhood on the staff of the institute; third, trying to formulate behavioral objectives for instruction while they worked daily with the same small groups of youngsters.

To me, these are some hopeful alternatives to our current failure:

1) Equip teachers to survive in the institutional setting of the school; expose them to organizational know-how and to the study of informal and formal group dynamics. Place them in clusters for their field experience so that they can analyze the school setting together, making note of the extent to which institutional procedures inhibit or enhance learning. By the same token, this study should help them to learn how to legitimize subversion and become active in it, if that's possible within a given establishment setting.

2) Expose prospective teachers to children, youth of all ages, early in their college experience, so that they can build some confidence with youngsters and some skill with individuals

and with small groups. This also would give some a chance to quit in time if they discover that they don't like working with children.

3) Build in a chance for teachers to gain cultural awareness. Hire staff of varying backgrounds. Seek out youngsters of backgrounds for your student population. Pay students in the inner city, in suburbia and in the outer city for a whole array of field experiences. Teach black history. Try working with the liberal arts faculty in your university to make their courses more relevant. Is it possible that education people could team with liberal arts faculty in course of sociology, in cultural anthropology, or in political science? Perhaps it is!

4) Provide students with a variety of instructional models. Role play extensively. Utilize the youngsters' concern: plan in teams. Encourage controversy and disagreement. Make teacher education, in short, an exciting thing, so that schools might become exciting, also.

5) Try placing fledgling teachers in inner-city situations in pairs so they can survive in the system by supporting one another.

6) Follow up on first-year teachers, or second-year teachers. Visit them, call them together, exchange tapes with them; bring them all the institutional support that you can muster.

7) Teach them to work in professional teams. They should leave school expecting to be observed, expecting constructive criticism

by colleagues, expecting to use volunteer and professional services, expecting to diagnose and plan together.

8) Orient teachers toward an attitude of tentativeness by making research a classroom tool. I think Riessman was wrong. I don't think we need more traditional, "firm but fair" maidens in our classrooms. I think we need to find some teachers who remain students of education for their entire professional careers.

9) Build in some mechanisms for teachers to get to know themselves a little better. Perhaps small group discussions with trained personnel could help some teachers and change some others. It may lengthen their antenna when they interact with children or with parents.

10) Organize students of education. Place them on faculty committees. Hear their grievances, then do something about them. Train teachers to become political activists.

11) Build a sequence of options in urban education so that those going immediately into inner-city settings should have received appropriate and intensive training; and, for all others, provide a comprehensive background in urban education.

12) Finally, above all, teach them how to teach. Be hard-nosed about it. Help them with questioning skills, with diagnostic and with guidance tools, and with the ability to manage a classroom. Help them to work in small groups to discover where they're going, exactly, with their teaching, how they're going to arrive there, and how they'll know when they have.

Teachers do fail. So do all of us. Some are saying that it's already too late to do anything about that. It seems to me that if we think that inner-city teaching is not our business, that if we feel comfortably removed from the urban horrors that we have built, that if we don't change now, then they are probably right.

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Chapter Three

WHY SCHOOLS FAIL IN INNER-CITY EDUCATION

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I had better confess at the outset that as I contemplated this assignment I struggled for awhile with trying to come up with a definition for schools that didn't include teachers or that didn't include administrators and the only thing I could fasten onto was the building. Then if I substituted building in the topic, the topic would read, Why Buildings Fail. The more I thought about this the more I thought I had better resort to some different kind of strategy and I finally came up with an idea that to have this particular topic is an advantage. As Dr. Larson talked about teachers he was lapping over into administration and I am equally confident that when Dr. Spearsbegins to talk about administration he is not going to be able to accomplish this in a way that is going to isolate his remarks from teachers. My advantage is I'm in the middle so I can lap over this way and I can lap over that way.

As I thought about what I would say there were several other points also that became clear to me in very short order. I think that before proceeding any further I should call these to your attention in an effort to get us on the same thought frequency and also to defend my inability to treat the subject or the discussion in anything remotely approaching a comprehensive matter. First, as I've already hinted, 25 minutes or a half hour is much too short a time to even list the apparent reasons for the failure of inner-city schools, to say nothing of the more subtle but nonetheless just as important factors. Even more difficult is to trace the interrelationship of these factors to each other and match them with recognizable areas of educational fields.

My second point is the selection of the areas upon which I shall touch has been influenced somewhat by my judgment of what may be of interest to you. I have to say that that certainly is going to be a weak judgment. Perhaps more honestly I am fairly sure that the points which I will touch upon will certainly reflect my own biases.

Thirdly, failure as used in the topic, needs a definitive frame of reference. The reason I'm spending some time on this point is because, like success in education, failure can be defined in various ways. I would like to deal with perhaps these three connotations of failure. Failure defined as the lack of provision of equal educational opportunity, failure defined as depressed academic achievement, and failure defined as inability to reach fundamental philosophic objectives.

Now as to the reasons why I have chosen these items to be important ones on the long list of fundamentals that one should contemplate as the plight of inner-city education.

Despite the momentous decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, the practice of unequal educational opportunity has persisted. It is manifested primarily along the lines of economic status and racial composition. The vast disparity is traceable to systems of financing schools and is also a function of varying degrees in the wealth of the localities. The primary responsibility for designing the method of financing educational opportunity, the educational program, has been left with the states. In virtually all of the states the laws place responsibility for raising educational revenue upon the local property tax. Further, the state statutes single out educational levies as the one tax which the electorate may veto periodically. Thus the school districts not only must attend to limitations imposed by the local tax base, but must also be sensitive to political feasibility. Add to these facts the state prescribed proportions of affirmative votes necessary for passage of an educational tax issue and you will recognize a situation in which decisions to raise money for education turn upon rigidly strict state laws and places educational need far down the list of state priorities. In the larger cities levy proposals during these times, particularly, almost never reflect the revenue needed to mount meaningful and potentially productive tax on educational problems. Rather they reflect what can be done to hold the frazzled program ends together in a political climate substantially generated by rising taxes imposed on municipal, county, state, and federal governments. Taxes which cannot be directly resisted are resisted by the people who resort to the one opportunity open to them to express their displeasure by refusal to vote additional tax upon their properties to support the education of children.

I could go on and talk about the kind of vested interests that are operative in the large cities scene. I could talk about other kinds of forces which automatically resist awarding money to children. There are the aged people. Keep in mind that our scheme of financing education places the responsibility of paying for education upon the citizen, not the parent, upon the citizen. That means all of the citizens and some of them don't have children. The idea of paying for the education of children is not a very popular one with them because of the shortsightedness of their vision.

The urban school districts, even with the conscientious recognition of the problem of their inner cities, are helpless to employ the financial force necessary to treat them. This is true even when promising and meaningful innovative measures for attack have been developed. The inner city then, needing reverse financial discrimination to equalize educational opportunity, is subjected to decreasing financial power supporting its programs which has been contributed to by relentlessly rising costs of education generally.

If by now some question has arisen in your minds about the additional aid received by large city school districts from federal sources let me quickly resolve it. The extent of federal assistance when held up against the magnitude of needs in the inner city is woefully inadequate. The timing of the allocations is discordant with sound planning and moreover some of the funds which have been set aside for the improvement of the education of inner-city children have been reduced. I think that with the events of the fall, 1968, election the chances for their being reduced even more drastically have risen. In addition to this a great deal of tension has been built up around the administration of these programs because of the mythical fear of federal "intervention" in education. We all know that the federal government has long been participating in educational enterprise. Furthermore, if I may ask this question, if you were not participating, should it not be?

The summation of the financial situation which I have described to you can be driven home without boring you with excessive statistical detail. The expenditure per pupil, per year, in wealthy white suburbs, which ring the city which contains the poverty stricken ghettos -- is as high as $1,000. That is the per capita expenditure in the suburbs. In the cities it is less than one-half that amount. The irony of this is, of course, that the problems the most intensive, the most knotty problems, the most pressing problems, the problems that have the largest potential for explosion exist in the cities where the amount of money being spent on education is about half that of the more fortunate suburbs.

Here's another point that I would like to make. In the inner city if we do not count the federal funds specifically directed to the education of the disadvantaged pupil we find an even greater disparity. What I'm saying is that the per capita expenditures of local funds in school districts prior to the last few years has been less than the per capita expenditure for those children who were fortunate enough to be born into life circumstances outside the ghetto. This crude analysis I have presented to you is a picture of problems which eloquently cry out for solution. Meaningful rectification however, is buried deep in state constitution so guarded by intricate legal machinery and so thwarted by the character of the current political climate that one must be an optimist of enormous proportions to see the necessary reordering, forthcoming in the forseeable future. To summarize, inner-city schools fail because of the quality of financial support we receive in relationship to the enormity of their need.

The second connotation of failure is the depressed academic achievement which characterizes the inner-city school. Implicit in the phrase, depressed academic achievement, is acceptance of the following premise, which I consider basic to genuine concern about the educational plight of the disadvantaged pupil. Here is the premise:

The real ability to learn is distributed among the economically depressed and among racial minorities in the same fashion as it is distributed among the economically fortunate and the racial majority. The real ability to learn, is what I'm talking about. The reason that I consider this to be such a basic and fundamental premise is that if we cannot accept that premise then of course the only alternative is to assume that what we are doing now, the way we are now successful in getting inner-city children to learn is good enough.

All of you are familiar with the recent literature which justifies this kind of premise. This position refutes any lingering notions of inherited inferiority traceable to racial membership and moves toward the life circumstances of the pupil as a strongly contributing negative factor impeding what would otherwise become "normal" progress in learning. It also poses the challenge which may be arrived at through the next step in logical association. Maybe the best way to articulate this second situation is to ask you some questions. If real ability to learn is not enhanced or inhibited by the circumstances of birth into a particular racial group or by economic status, why is the persistence of depressed academic achievement patterns and inner-city schools virtually universal? The answer may be the inadequacy of the instructional program. If one chooses not to indict the instructional program the only remaining alternative is acceptance of the pathological, pessimistic, and as yet unsubstantiated stance that the negative environment of the inner-city child creates permanent impairment to learn. The impairment is unsurmountable even by the design of an appropriate and instructional program responsive to the need of the inner-city pupil.

In recent years great concern and considerable attention have been turned toward the education of the inner-city child. Both concern and attention have borne very little fruit if one thinks in terms of measurable learning outcomes. Compensatory programs have reflected many strategies in their attack. They have ranged from producing "more culture" to providing breakfast at school. From community involvement and sometime control to the current emphasis on reading instruction. I would just like to examine that for a moment or two.

Implicit in the attack at the beginning on the improvement of the education of the disadvantaged child we assumed that the reason that the child was not learning was that there was something wrong with him. We were able to document this as a matter of fact how far that child had been out of his own neighborhood. I can remember one proposal in particular where there was a great deal of effort put into describing the fact that there were a certain percentage of the children to be treated who had not been more than six blocks from their homes. Then there is the very popular enterprise of taking children on field trips to the art galleries. Now, just think for a moment what you encounter when you get to the art gallery. The artists themselves don't understand what's hanging on the wall. To take the position that an inner-city child, by having made a trip to the art gallery and having viewed the works of the masters, some of the contemporary masters, that this would somehow increase his capacity to learn, is a position that is beyond my ability to comprehend.

For some time we said, the child comes from a home where there are no books. Now just scratch your heads about that one, just a little bit. There are no books and magazines in the home. The child can't read anyway. It's a logic which escapes me. Even if the presence of books in the home would somehow contribute to an increased rate of learning, or an increased level of learning, then how many books need to be placed in the home? Where should they be placed? If we could come up with these kinds of answers, then we could wash our hands of the problem and place the books in the home and know that we have done what we should have done for the education of the disadvantaged child.

I can go on and on with certain kinds of rather irrational ideas which we fasten onto as we thrash about in an attempt not to do something for the disadvantaged child, but to correct whatever was wrong with him. Keep in mind now if we are going to make any sense at all out of trying to take some extra educational measures in terms of the disadvantaged child we've got to spring from the basic premise I rehearsed with you just a moment ago. We accept a premise and then turn to whatever is wrong with the child. I've said that compensatory programs have reflected many strategies in their attack. I think that's where they have stopped.

Now we are at the point where we recognize, I think, that there is an educational skill which is absolutely crucial to educational progress. That is the skill of reading, and more and more compensatory programs are fastening onto this kind of objective. I'd like to examine that briefly because there is something wholesome in that. It admits that the current instructional methodology, techniques, and approaches are not the best of all possible approaches to the education of the inner-city pupil.

To recognize that the ability to read is essential to educational progress is to see that the cruciality of mastering this indispensable intellectual tool justifies the emphasis which now is being generated even at the expense of some of the other subject matter areas. In other words we are at the point now where we may juggle the amount of time prescribed by some curriculum department on the state level. We are going to take some of the time required to spend on history away from that subject matter area and put it on reading. A very, very insightful and shrewd decision. It is because we have come to understand that we're not going to be very successful in the teaching of history unless the child can read. A very, very, enlightening kind of decision. A very, very, broad step forward in the field of education.

Now let's see if we can recognize another one of the problems. I want to make a profound statement here. The instructional program can only be executed by teachers. The teachers are trained in the colleges and universities by professional faculty who have far less than an intimate knowledge of the educational situation which exists down in the boondocks. As a matter of fact it has only been recently that they even noticed a specialized class of educational problems characteristic of the inner city.

In the beginning the main objective of that notice was to theorize or to mount an exotic research project -- the outcomes of which would present information which those who had always been down there already knew. A short time ago, however, the scholars joined us. They have assumed some of the joint responsibility of providing and producing learning. As a result a few have returned to their campuses to begin a scrutiny of the teacher-education program..

Among the large number of adjustments which I expect them to find are the following: 1) Teachers leaving teacher-training institutions are not full professionalists and that's true whether they find their way into the inner city or whether they don't. 2) Too little effort is being put into understanding thoroughly how children develop.

It's driven home to them that they ought to go on field trips. It's driven home to them that they should develop some self-concept in children. I don't know of any phrase that is more over-used than "We must give some self-identity to inner-city children and particularly to black children." So we bring people like Jackie Robinson into the classroom. We select some textbooks where we have three or four black faces in the books, perhaps a brown face -- all of this in an effort to give the student some self-identity. A wholesome self-concept and a self-identity are going to be generated by that child having enough success in school to understand that he is not inferior. He can compete with others like him in the society. I am suggesting that unless we operate in a way so this child experiences some real worthwhile success that he can translate into life, no matter how many black faces we put in the book or how many black celebrities we parade before him he is not going to have a wholesome self-concept. Neither will he have the kind of identity which we say we'd like him to have.

3) It is my judgment that there is not nearly enough effort put to understanding the dynamics of the learning process in our teacher education program. Teachers come to us with one course in educational psychology, adolescent psychology. I find it hard to understand this because when we think about it, the business of learning is mainly psychological. If we have people who are taking over a classroom and do not understand the most elementary psychological principles associated with the learning process, then it seems to me that we are in some serious trouble.

While we are on the subject of psychology let me move to the next point which I consider to be a shortcoming in teachers who have received degrees from teacher-training institutions. 4) Psychological principles fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of a wholesome interaction between teacher and pupil have not been internalized by the beginning teacher. I might add they are only incidentally internalized by the seasoned teacher. I'll qualify that -- by some seasoned teachers. There are some of course who don't ever internalize it.

While we are talking about this business of classroom interaction I'd just like to call your attention to that. The next time you have a group of 25 or 30 potential teachers in front of you, if you can, find some way to get them to understand that they use the classroom situation as a means of maintaining their own psychological homeostasis, very often at the expense of devastating the children in the classroom. I don't mind a maladjusted teacher as long as that teacher is maladjusted in the right direction. In other words if this teacher is absolutely obsessed with the idea of getting children to learn and she uses bizarre means to do it and she can't think of anything else, that's fine. As long as she doesn't operate in a way to injure the child. If you must allow them to leave the teacher training institutions maladjusted, see if you can get them maladjusted in the proper direction so that we can exploit that maladjustment when we receive them down in the public school district and place them into inner-city classrooms.

The teacher-training programs have only recently, probably in deference to the funding carrot held out on the end of the federal stick, taken notice of the fact that since there are specialized programs existing in the inner city and since the teachers who go to the inner city are going to be coming from the teacher-training institutions, that there ought to be some organized systematic attempt built into the teacher-training program to equip these teachers for what they are going to encounter. When that's not the case fledgling teachers come to us and often wallow around in trauma for years as the result of the shock they receive when they view the actual situation in the inner city. That is not to say at all that the situation in the inner city is so bad that it in itself creates the trauma. It's the difference between what the situation is and what the expectation is. The expectation, it seems to me, ought to be explored during the course of the teacher's training before he reaches the city school districts.

There's another point. Even those students who choose the elementary area do not know enough about instruction in reading to even get started without the close direction of an experienced teacher. What happens is that we pile upon ignorance more ignorance. The experienced teacher whom this new teacher may seek out for guidance may not know how to teach reading. He probably doesn't, unless he has spent some personal initiative after he left the teacher-training institution in an effort to find out how to teach reading in the elementary grades.

Now I've already said that there is no more important subject at the elementary level than reading.

I hesitate to get into this next one, because I'm going to talk about attitudes for the most part. I listened this afternoon to how easily changes in the attitudinal structures of teachers were being accomplished. What I'd like to do is to take the 300 teachers involved in this program that I am responsible for and take them all to wherever that place was and leave them there for 3 months. Then see them come back with the kinds of attitudes I'd like for them to have. I can assure you that the ones that are operative now are not conducive to the kinds of objectives which we'd like to achieve.

One of the items that is too often recognizable within the attitudinal structures of teachers is that they reject the inner-city child. They reject the child and they reject his environment. I am talking now about both black and white teachers -- regardless of what they say. It is understandable they are not altogether to blame. In many cases they accept assignments in the inner city figuratively swathed in the righteousness of martyrdom.

The source of much of their halo originates with a recent education professor. In a conversation about placement with this new teacher, the professor advised against the city schools and particularly against the inner cores of the cities. He advised in favor of the suburban schools. I may sound a bit bitter here, about this point, but it is a very real problem and if you think I sound bitter you ought to talk to the Assistant Superintendent in charge of personnel. He is already bloody from the onslaught of the union. On one hand he is plagued by the uprising community and on the other he can't get teachers to transfer into inner-city schools and neither can he get the new ones to go in there.

We've got all sorts of devices working. As a matter of fact, this might be a good place to stop and tell you about the one teacher-education program that we have. It is called the Cooperative Urban Teacher Education Program. Think about those initials so that when I refer to the CUTE Program, you'll know what I'm talking about. This is really a consortium of about 14 teacher-training institutions and they have said that we need more experiences relating to the inner-city educational problems in our curriculum. So they have come together and designed a curriculum which they think is appropriate for preparing a teacher to work in the inner city. They have made some very important concessions. Instead of a 6-week intern program the student teacher now stays in Kansas City working in the inner-city school, under supervision, for a period of one semester. That's progress. I think even that amount of time is inadequate but nevertheless it about doubles the amount of time they were spending before that. The courses are designed in such a way that the content relates directly to the issues which operate in the inner city.

Now that's enough items. I want to remind you again that those items are by no means comprehensive and I've not intended them to be. My only purpose is to call to your attention a few of them in an effort to outline the enormity of the task facing teacher-training institutions. I've already indicated that this extremely bleak picture has begun to brighten some. Almost all of the big city school districts are now involved in a working alliance with at least one institution engaged in the training of teachers. I have to say, however, that I do not know one -- not one teacher-training institution which at this point has made a commitment to improve his teacher-training program as it relates to equipping their teachers to work in the inner city to the point where it has included in its curriculum some systematic professional experiences which are required even on the CUTE Program. These students must volunteer. They have not said -- I don't know of one teacher-training institution which has said -- that when you leave here you may work in an inner city. You may very possibly end up in the inner city. We are going to take steps to see that you are prepared to discharge a responsibility of teaching. Teaching defined not as the exercise of pedagogy, not defined as the preparation of lesson plans, but teaching defined in the only way that it can be defined, and that is in terms of the production of learning.

It's always been, and I'm digressing here a little bit, so bear with me, it has always been immensely perplexing to me how we can define teaching in a way that is unrelated to learning. It would seem to me that we could go ahead and give credit for the learning that takes place without the teacher, but if we cannot see where this teacher has produced some learning then I can't see how we can call that person a good teacher. But it does happen. I'm at the point now, and I guess you've been waiting for this, where I demonstrate that I don't conceive the entire problem of the failure of inner-city schools to be fastened to the teacher-training institutions. I think the schools themselves have to take some responsibility.

One of the responsibilities that schools have to take is the responsibility of reinforcing an attitude among teachers which says to them that you do not have to teach. Now let me elaborate on that a little bit. Here's what we do. All the school districts have regular and so-called systematic evaluations of the teacher's performance. It creates some problems but we do it regularly, we do it systematically. We have a sheet and here are the kind of questions that we ask. "Is the teacher cooperative?" "Does the teacher have a good appearance?" "Does a teacher have good judgment?" "Is she punctual?" These are the kinds of questions that we ask. I have never seen a rating sheet which attempts to evaluate the performance of teachers which ask, "Did the children learn anything?" I've never seen a rating sheet like that. Well you see what this does. This reinforces the idea that the teacher can go into the classroom and go through the motions but she does not have to produce any learning and she can still be considered as a good teacher -- she's punctual, and she has good appearance, and the impression is that she is cooperative, and the impression is that she has good judgment.

Now, I just want to get one more major point. I guess I've been preaching a little bit already and I probably won't stop on this one. The last point I'd like to deal with concerns basic objectives of American education. Let me approach this one by reviewing with you some important considerations related to what is or what should be at least, some principles which are included in a philosophy of American education. I'm not altogether sure that I ought to get into a discussion of philosophy in basic objectives with this group. I'm not sure whether schools of education ought to be concerned with basic objectives, and philosophies of education, but I think I'll do it anyway and let you decide whether you ought to be concerned or not.

Viewed from the national standpoint the overriding objective of education ought to be the advancement of the life of that nation's society. In other words it ought to compliment what the nation aspires to be. It is this concept which gives a strong flavor to the ideal democracy embodied in the stated philosophies in American education. Further, the same concept has led to the acceptance of the idea of the fullest educational development of the individual according to his ability. This is a very enormous ambition and in my judgment it truly reflects the ideals of democracy.

Achievement of this particularly laudible, humanistic, philosophical tenet, is made much more difficult by the fact that this goal must be reached in a truly democratic setting. To say nothing of the added difficulty which is encountered when the society is operating on stated but so far extremely elusive ideals of democracy. Nevertheless this goal, offering as it should one means of escape from the chains of poverty and perhaps discrimination, is tenaciously clung to by minority group members, especially the Black people, and other low income segments of the population. For them to do less would be to accept almost total despair. Therefore, this tenacity is translated into a mandate that the educational enterprise cannot ignore. That it must not ignore.

To put the whole issue into a few words. Education must find a way to develop productive citizens, who can contribute in a positive way to desirable modification of the American societal patterns. Now that phrase appears in practically every book on educational philosophy, so it's not new to you. I just want to drive it home because I think that it is an extremely important phrase, although it does deal in generalities and it has been repeated very often. If this does not happen then it is likely that the ideals upon which this country is founded will become incoherent verbiages, vaguely understandable.

To be specific: One goal of American education is to produce citizens who can take their places in our society without the handicap of racial hatred and a conditioned drive toward prejudice, segregation, and discrimination. The first step along the path to achieving this is clear. To avoid the failure of our schools to produce democratic citizens we must carry forward the educational program in an integrated democratic setting. At the same time you must exploit the innumerable opportunities that will be provided by this kind of setting to unabashedly teach the principles of democracy.

What folly is it that forces us to mouth democratic ideals of education on the one hand and then design an educational program whose operation is inherently prejudicial? Do we really expect children to develop amid prejudice and then suddenly transform themselves into democratic citizens at some magic point beyond school age? It is true that the warp and woof of our societal fabric is prejudicial but it is also true that it will remain so unless education understands the necessity of the major role it must play in helping this country move toward a democratic society. The reason that I'm on this subject is that I think that the teacher-training institutions are going to have to spend some time and increase their activity in the direction of articulating what education in this country should become. We are going to have to demonstrate to this country what education can do for it and we must demonstrate also that education is absolutely indispensable to creating the kind of society which we say that we aspire to.

I don't mean to minimize the barriers that are set up by other institutions. It is very true that a liberal school district cannot exist when it is controlled by a bigoted locality. My plea is only that education develops strategies and exercises potential influence to create the societal change which will help to free its operations from society's shackles of prejudice. Schools must embrace some responsibility as a primary goal or else we shall be forever relegated to directing our efforts toward our secondary goals. That is: the production of learning so that achievement patterns are indistinguishable by race or by economic status. I think that we need not forsake the first goal to achieve the latter. It seems to me that the entire issue would become more attainable once the first is accomplished.

The failure of our schools is a serious matter. I do not see the depth of commitment in the teacher-training institutions, the operation and management of the schools, the administration and control of the schools, the attitudes of the community, the conscientiousness of the municipalities, the State Government, or the Federal Government so that I could be optimistic about some meaningful solutions emerging, at some forseeable time in the future. If I do sound like the voice of doom, this is the reason.

I have deliberately taken advantage of the fact that when I was asked to take on this assignment nothing was said to me about offering solutions. I have been guilty of having some lapses of judgment in the past, but this is certainly not one time when the lapse in judgment was operating. I have intentionally and deliberately not posed any solutions. I hope that I've only been able to stimulate your thinking by drawing some relationships which seem to be clear to me. I have necessarily stated things in gross terms, but I don't know how I could have done otherwise in the amount of time that was allowed. I thank you very much.

Chapter Four

WHY ADMINISTRATORS FAIL IN INNER-CITY EDUCATION

Harold Spears
Visiting Professor
Indiana University

First, let me say -- I have no bitterness about my tenure in the large city superintendency.

I enjoyed it all -- even the picketing, the lawsuits, and the negotiations. There was a challenge about it that kept you awake and thinking. It was an honor to have been sued, along with the Board, for a million dollars. It helped my ego at a time when it was dragging.

From 1947 to 1955 I was in the wings as Assistant Superintendent. I moved into the superintendency in 1955 when the main problem was Why Johnny Can't Read,[1] and then moved on through the engineering shortage and the Sputnik embarrassment. We were busy building up math and science until interrupted by the unfortunate Chicago schoolhouse fire.

We took time from curriculum to build stairwells and install sprinkler systems and fire alarms. Conant got us back on a three track curriculum with his report on The American High School.[2] By that time we had NDEA money and built foreign language labs before the teachers knew how to use them.

We next were on two manhunts, or pupil hunts, one for the Gifted Student and one for the Drop-Out. And then we were accused of being color blind. By the time we had taken racial counts and sincerely sought racial balance, a Black Power movement cast its shadow over these sincere efforts. We now seek the Quality School in the light of a neon sign that flashes "Change".

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[1] Rudolf F. Flesch, Why Johnny Can't Read, (New York, Harper, 1955).
[2] James B. Conant, The American High School Today, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1959).

In 1967, when I was traveling around among the state administrator's associations, Jim Redmond accepted the Chicago job. The question -- "Why" -- was asked so many times, and I replied, "Why wouldn't he take the job? It is a compliment to his professional standing. And if we can't handle the superintendency, who is to do it?"

In San Francisco, we held two board of education meetings a month, (with occasionally another thrown in). They began at 7:30 p.m., but nobody ever knew when they'd end, unless he had the staying power to find out.

In the 12 years as superintendent, I missed but one meeting, it being early in August, 1967, while Jen and I were attending the World Conference of Teachers in Seoul, Korea.

I was afraid I'd miss something. If somebody wanted to say something about me, I wanted to get it firsthand while it was fresh.

Then, too, the board shouldn't be meeting without their superintendent. He's the professional. Like a bunch of nurses turned loose in the operating room without the surgeon.

The printed program of this seminar is full of the word failure -- it's to be attacked from many angles. Let's do it without indicting our fellow travelers. Maybe the city itself is the failure. It has been said that --

> The city is a parade of paradoxes, a thousand promises -- to make you rich, or loved, or celebrated, or even to leave you alone.
>
> It is a vast machine for living, that purrs like a fat cat, or rips the night with a scream.
>
> It is a gigantic file cabinet of human hopes that nobody can ever put in order.

Seven Built-In Booby Traps for Administrators

This talk is organized around a half dozen or so conditions that act as booby traps for the school administrator who is accustomed to a logical approach to the job. These conditions are treated by means of personal on-the-job situations that arose in connection with the inner city cause. Not all the illustrations given in my talk are printed, but the booby traps are listed.

These remarks must be conditioned by the fact that San Francisco is not subject to the endless blocks of slums found in some of the larger cities. The city is small enough -- 6½ miles by 7, with 130 schools, that the central office staff were in and out of the schools daily.

1. _We are in a social revolution in this country, and it is centered in the cities._

They are filled with frustrated people who made the trek but found no promise there. Revolutionists want instant action. They must produce for their followers, for staying power wanes without objective attainment.

Their targets are those highest on the totem pole. We who are in school administrative or school board positions need not take it personally. Such an attitude does not deny us the sincerity of purpose that the teaching profession demands.

Schools, unlike business and industry and government, are vulnerable. Schools are sitting ducks, one in every neighborhood. The principal is easy to reach, as are the board of education and the superintendent in the regularly scheduled open public meetings.

Good city superintendents don't grow on trees, but they may be hung in effigy, providing you can find a tree in a city.

2. Middle class families continue to choose the bedroom communities that fringe the city as the place to raise their children. The percentage of minority children continues to rise in the city schools.

Annexation by extending the city boundaries, so popular in our childhood, is a thing of the past. Those who move out are seeking independence, and they are not about to buy a school busing plan that would interchange pupils by race.

Those white middle and upper class citizens who remain in the city are backing away from participation in civic affairs that carry conflict, such as school board operation.

The tempo is too rough for them, and they tend to look at the schools as something outside their own life. Something to watch on television and read about in the paper. The PTA in a large city has gone underground as far as school board conflict is concerned. Other parties now rise up in board meetings to tell how the schools should be organized, how and what the children should be taught. And if they don't get their way, they devise a crude sign and picket the school.

New groups temporarily grow up to oppose the more extreme demands of civil rights groups, but they run the danger of being branded as white racists. Two such organizations in San Francisco were Mothers Support Neighborhood Schools, and Parents and Taxpayers.

3. School boards may not stand up and protect the significance of their office.

The so-called good board member is buffaloed in a noisy meeting. He is above yelling back. He was elected or duly appointed and before these face-to-face demands is confused as to his public position.

The housewife, the doctor, the businessman, the attorney, that so often have made up the board, are not accustomed to the level of dialogue that so often reflects the remonstrating group. Boardmanship today, just as school administration, calls for a continuous quick-draw reaction to demands.

The superintendent may administer all week, but he turns the board meeting, the big public occasion, over to the president of the board. The thing may go to pot unless forcefully managed. The president seems to have lost his gavel, and his watch as well.

These are times that test the unity of a board, the unity of board and administration.

4. The Federal Government rides two horses in respect to racial balance in the large city.

Both go opposite directions. The local school authority is caught in the middle.

The Housing Authority sends a letter to the school district when a new housing development is contemplated, to secure assurance of room in the schools for the children. They make no effort to control racial imbalance. A new neighborhood springs up overnight. It is considered a proper place to live and raise a family, but a bad place to go to school.

5. So often -- the absence of a stable or responsible leadership in the rights movement.

So many parties going and coming. So many organizations. Always new officers, new proponents of new proposals.

6. The unfortunate timing of the teachers' movement in the cities.

If there was ever a period calling for professional unity in the large city school systems it is today. But the teachers also take advantage of disturbed social conditions by rebelling against administration and board management.

The death struggle of two national teachers organizations keeps the superintendent in the middle.

7. _The practice of seeking the advice of experts, consultants, surveyors from afar._

I see in this practice the downgrading of the ability of the local administrative, supervisory, and instructional staff.

Finally, I don't know why I mentioned this last booby trap. I've been a school consultant now for a year with the Bloomington, Indiana School District!

Chapter Five

WHY COMMUNITIES FAIL IN INNER-CITY EDUCATION

Willard J. Congreve
Director of Chicago Comprehensive Project-Woodlawn
and Professor of Education
University of Chicago

I am delighted to be here, and especially honored to share the podium in a tandem fashion with Mr. Wheeler, and Dr. Spears, and Dr. Larson. In listening to their opening remarks I noticed especially that Dr. Spears and Mr. Wheeler were a bit hesitant about how they might proceed. To set the records straight and not to be outdone in the area of schizophrenia or paranoia, I'd like to point out that I am a musician, and I'm white. In recent years, I've attempted to be a scholar at the University of Chicago, and now I am administering what is euphemistically labeled an experimental district which is under the direction of a local board made up of representatives of three bureaucracies. One of the bureaucracies is that community organization made famous by Senator McClellan, namely, the Woodlawn organization. I'm serving in a school attendance district which is entirely black. The ten schools in this district are administered by nine white and one black principal, the latter having been appointed just recently at the behest of the community and somewhat over the objections of the central administration. My administrative staff is all black except for me and one other. We are attempting to develop an educational program of high quality through the mutual efforts of the community, parents, students, teachers, and administrators. While we're doing this we are caught up in the midst of student boycotts, sit-ins, and an inflexible and uncreative board of education. The board consists of eleven members, ten of which seem to know little or nothing about the dynamics of inner-city life, and five of which act as if they have no responsibility to find out anything about these areas. Finally, I'm here to talk about why communities fail.

I guess after that recital I feel a little bit like a member of the "Can you top this" show. "Schizo" is so much a part of my daily routine I feel perfectly comfortable in my role this morning. I have no hang-ups; no one has stolen my lines; I am no expert in the area. I thought I was competent before I accepted my present position. I have been a staff member at the Reverend John Fry's First Presbyterian Church in Woodlawn for the past seventeen years. That's about thirteen more than John has been there. In case you have not heard, First Presbyterian is the alleged home of the Blackstone Rangers and was also made famous by Senator McClellan.

In all of the years in the Church, I never knew what I know now. Thanks to my Black brothers and sisters who have accepted me as being for real, I now receive daily tutoring in the culture, the human aspirations, the dignity, and the intelligence of Blacks which help to make up the fabulous heritage of inner-city Black people. I do know why I'm doing what I'm doing. I'm not sure that what I do specifically each moment is what I ought to be doing, but I have no problems about checking out my behavior with my staff and with community residents who, in many respects are much more competent than I. I'm learning, and I have much more to learn. But thank God I'm out there with the people and the people have let me stay.

I want to address myself this morning not to the city community to which Dr. Spears spoke last night, but rather to the local community within the big city which is struggling for a voice -- for a role in determining the destiny of its children as they are affected by the schools. I'm speaking about the community which finds itself caught between the desire to be a recognizable entity of people who live close together and want to be in communion with each other, who want their thing, and the need to be a part of a larger city in order to enjoy the services and facilities which, because of careful political manipulation of funds, come only through that large city. I'm talking this morning about why these communities fail -- why they fail to have a voice in our local schools, why they fail to get the schools to be responsive to the needs and interests of their children.

I am going to be talking about participation this morning. I am going to be addressing myself to mutuality of effort. But much of what I am going to say is not going to sound pleasant to educators. I am going to take up the community's voice; I am going to talk much like a community organizer. I am going to say things which sound like I'm against school people, and, I am against many of the things school people do. I may even sound subversive, but my intent is not subversive. My goal is equality for all; human dignity for all; elimination of false hierarchies and pompous superordinate royalty. I am committed to integration; to all men working and playing together side by side, equal, regardless of what we look like. But I also feel that until the power base essential to equality is firmly established for Blacks, white controlled manipulative mixing of people is just what it is -- white controlled manipulation. It is not integration.

This topic of participation which results in real decision-making power reminds me of a little story. It seems that there was a minister in a small community who thought that he ought to have a new church. He went to his parishioners and said, "It would be nice if we had a new church." And they said, "Parson, we think we ought to have a new church, but we think we ought to design it." The minister felt so strongly about needing the new church that he acquiesced. They said, "Not only should we design it, Parson, but we want this church designed and built with you having nothing to do with it until the day of dedication." The minister agreed. Finally the day of dedication came. When he walked into the sanctuary he saw that there was only one pew in the back of the church. He thought to himself, "My God, what have I done!" He stood and watched as the parishioners came in. They sat down on that one pew in the back. As soon as the last space was taken a latch automatically released and the pew rolled right up to the front of the church as another one appeared in the back. "Ha, they really have been listening to me about sitting down front," (he whispered to himself). Soon he was before the congregation delivering his dedicatory sermon. He went on at some length eulogizing his fine congregation and the fine building. All at once the clock struck twelve, a trapdoor opened, and the Parson fell out of the pulpit. You see there are consequences to community participation, and we'd better be aware of them.

It may be useful for a few moments to look back in history and see how we've arrived at the state of non-community involvement in our schools. Back in the little red schoolhouse days the community decided everything -- who the teacher was to be, what was to be taught, -- and how it was to be taught. The criteria for teacher selection was simple: female, single, not addicted to hard liquor or Saturday-night dates, able to tend the potbelly stove, keep the big boys in line, and able to read and cipher enough to teach the kids to do likewise. If the kids stayed in line and learned a little reading and ciphering, and if the teacher stayed in line, all was well.

But teaching didn't stay that way for long. It began to be professionalized through teacher education. It became specialized by function. Subject matter instruction became more sophisticated, and I presume, children learned much more. But at the same time the linkage that kept the school and the community together became frayed; in many school communities it was broken entirely. Parents could no longer talk with teachers, and teachers kept it that way. We now have a situation where what used to be O.K. in 1600, namely, older children teaching their younger siblings and parents how to read, can only be done by a reading specialist (not even the first-grade teacher), and helping a child gain some insights into himself and his life -- which was done quite competently by semi-literate parents and Indian Chiefs, now must be done by counselors who are "almost-psychiatrists" and who as parents, often have their own children under psychiatric care.

The destruction of this linkage has been welcomed by the school. It has kept the monkey off its back, and few, if any schools, have taken firm steps on their own to reverse the process. I dare say there is not one course in your curriculum for the training of teachers in which you as a faculty are devoted to helping beginning teachers go into a school and become change agents to reverse the process. You may think you have them in your parent-teacher relations jazz, but you don't really. I hope by the time I finish this morning you will know why you don't without me telling you.

The separation of school from its community has been reinforced by several other actions: consolidation of small school districts, and the bureaucratic centralization of large ones; school board members who do not live in inner-city communities and are unknown to inner-city residents (in the city of Chicago, of course, they're not even elected); and the aloof, sometimes disparaging treatment of parents when they come to school, especially if Johnny has been giving the paper towels the karate treatment in the boys' washrooms. The latter technique provides the best opportunity to let mother know that she has failed and to punish her along with Johnny. And, of course this maintains the linkage gap.

Yes, the school has done a superb job of eliminating the community from meaningful participation in the educational enterprise all across the American society. Of course, the situation doesn't seem so bad to the middle-class folk because the school does reflect their myths and mores; it is pretty well what they expect it should be. Furthermore, people of the same culture and background don't tend to harass one another so much. Therefore, despite the lack of a real voice, middle-class parents accept the crumbs of the P.T.A. thrown to them and stick it out, because they know if Johnny sticks it out and succeeds he will be on the way to a career and success, whatever that is.

But, hooray, for the ghetto community! Yes, they have failed, they know it. They are fighting for a rematch, and they are getting the rematch. The big question, "Will they continue to fail in the rematch or can they succeed?" If so, what is success? Should educators help them achieve this success? If so, how can they help? These, it seems to me, are the questions this morning. They are hard, unpleasant questions, but they are real questions with us today, and we have no choice but to deal with them.

Another way of saying what I have just said is that the public school is now caught up in the middle of a power struggle. It is the one institution in the community that has contact with about 80 percent of the adult residents. It is the one institution that can have real influence over the life activities of those residents and the development of the children. It is the one institution that expends more of the public monies than any other single one in the city. It is the one institution that enters into the life stream of the city. It is not going to be given over to local communities easily. Furthermore, because of the broad financial base upon which the school must operate, most local inner-city communities cannot afford to take it out of the hands of the state and city by simply setting up their own parallel school system. The tragedy of the separate school systems in the South which were established to counteract integrative efforts are still too fresh in our minds to have that occur. But, hooray, for the local community. It has decided to sit on its hands no longer. It wants "in". It wants a piece of the pie. And it's not going to stop until it gets it.

In the Woodlawn Experimental Schools Project of the Chicago Comprehensive Plan, definite provisions had been made for the Woodlawn Community to be in. Represented through a strong community organization, TWO, the community got in on the ground floor in 1966 when it insisted that experimental programs would not go forward in the Woodlawn Schools or the Community without the participation and sanction of The Woodlawn Organization. They blocked a major grant which was about to come to the University of Chicago on this basis. This blockage led to a feasibility study devoted to finding ways in which The Woodlawn Organization, the University of Chicago, and the Chicago Public Schools could collaborate in devising programs to improve inner-city education. From this study there was developed a tripartite coalition, a quasi school board, and an official memorandum of agreement among the three institutions legitimatizing the coalition. It seems that every day we're testing that memorandum. A Title III ESEA proposal was funded, the main objective being to create a mutuality of effort among the very parties involved in education, who, in effect, are alienated in the present school structure. They are the teachers, administrators, parents, and students. I put them in that order because the first letters spell "TAPS". Now I don't know whether that is a beginning or an ending. If you happen to be Jewish it's a beginning; if you happen to be a Christian it's an ending. In the Jewish tradition the new day starts at sundown.

The magic words "mutuality of effort" got us $1,353,000. The Federal Government liked those words, and agreed that something should be done to create a social system encompassing the school and the community; however, as we have discovered, in attempting to create this mutuality of effort the words are much easier to say than to do. It is quite apparent to us that the destruction of the linkage has been complete. When parents, teachers, and students sit down to talk about the schools, the established roles and relationships which since 1650 have made teachers superordinate and parents subordinate, and students less than that, are much in evidence. When parents or students so much as begin to behave as if the relationship could be different, that there might be a new power arrangement, a new distribution of who ought to say what, great heat, anxiety, and hostility is generated, even in well-planned meetings.

We came to recognize after a long hot summer workshop, that a model for this new social system was necessary. It occurred to us that if schools were really to be once again responsive to the community they had to be viewed as community schools. Such a view should not discourage the professional role of the teacher; rather it should establish clear roles and relationships so that school and community people could work together effectively.

We decided that there are five activities that must go on if a school is to function appropriately. These five functions are: the setting of goals; the designing of a program; the provision of sanction and support for the program; the implementation of the program; and the assessment of the program. We feel that probably there are two major actor sets in this drama. One is the community, which I have decided to call CPC which represents the kids, the parents, and the larger community. By community, we do not mean only the local community, we also include the larger community: the city, the state, and

Federal Government. We are also saying that there is this body of people that has a legitimate role to play in the education drama.

The second major act orset includes people who are called professionals. These are the teachers and the administrators in the school, and also other professionals who can and should be involved in the educational scene.

When we got our people together there was great confusion as to who ought to do what. We said, "What has to be done?" Five important jobs come to mind: goals have to be set, programs have to be designed, goals and programs have to be implemented, and programs and goals have to be assessed.

The next question was "In the community school who, logically, ought to do what?" If the school is to be responsive to the needs and interests of the community, it seemed quite clear that the CPC component must play the major role in deciding the goals of the school. But it also seemed that it would be unfortunate and shortsighted if the community group didn't ask for and obtain technical advice and assistance in determining goals. But the role of the professionals should be that of participant, not that of decision-maker. Furthermore, if the community is to participate in goal setting, it must also be held accountable. One of the biggest problems in broadening participation in the schools is that without accountability the participation becomes capricious. Therefore, if we are to assign to the CPC component the major role of setting the goals, they must be held accountable for the goals they set and there is also a clear-cut role for professionals in the school. Professionals should be experts in program design. This should be their job. But, again, professionals need technical assistance from the CPC component. They need to check out their programs to be sure they are in line with the goals, that they are something that the kids will be able to do, and that they are relevant (or as my Black friends say "revelant"). Accountability for program design ought to be assigned to the professionals. If they can't design programs which are in keeping with the goals they ought to tell the CPC component why they can't do it. In addition, they should recommend experimental programs which might help to find ways in which to do it.

As we move ahead we see that the community should provide sanction, and support, usually through a school board. But as I pointed out earlier, because the school board is often quite distant from the local community, the sanction and support should also come from the local community, and often from the State and Federal Governments as well. Again, these community groups should make the decisions and be held accountable for them. Nevertheless, the advice of professionals (such as the school superintendent and others) should be sought.

Let us move ahead. The professionals should implement the program, but need to get help from the kids and the parents to make sure that techniques are sound. Furthermore, we will hold the professionals accountable.

And finally, assessment belongs in the hands of the community. It's pure mythology that the community should not be given the test scores for a given school. How can a community be asked to identify goals and provide sanction and support for programs unless they also assess the results? To be sure professional assistance is needed. I would suggest that if we want good healthy school systems that the professional assistance for assessment ought to come from outside the local professional scene. But I would hold the community accountable for this assessment being done. Furthermore, if the assessment reveals inadequacies in the goals the community has the responsibility to change the goals.

The attached diagram attempts to explain what I have been attempting to describe in words.

TABLE ONE

MODEL FOR SOCIAL SYSTEM ENCOMPASSING THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

What is Done? (Functions)	Who Does It? (Act or Sets)	Who is Accountable? (Responsibility)
1. Set the Goals	CPC_{pr}*	CPC
2. Design the Program	Pr_{cpc}	Pr
3. Provide Sanction and Support	CPC_{pr}	CPC
4. Implement the Program	Pr_{cpc}	Pr
5. Assess the Program	CPC_{pr}	CPC

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*CPC - Children, Parents, Community

- Local - City - State - Federal

Pr - Professionals - Teachers - Administrators - Others

Ladies and gentlemen you have just had a model described to you, and as you know, most models don't work. The stating of the model is not enough. Even with the presence of a strong community organization, 30 full-time indigenous workers, a training staff and other resources, we are still a long way from making it work. Much needs to be done with the professionals in the school, but that is the topic of another talk. Let us now turn to some of the things that must be done in the community and by the community, if such a model is to become operable.

Someone must take responsibility for contacting and organizing parents. Most inner-city parents have had unfortunate personal experiences with schools, and they are not likely to respond readily to participation in school study groups. Many have tried out the PTA and find it consisting of two types of school administrator-directed activities: speeches admonishing parents to do their job better; and, an assortment of functions designed to raise money for the schools. These parents are not going to respond readily to an invitation to participate, especially if it comes from the principal, and especially if the first meeting is to take place in the school. Therefore, community leaders who are interested in developing a parent-participation component, need to devise means to contact and bring parents to meetings for new reasons and at new places.

Organization is usually most effective if it takes place around an issue. There are many issues of real concern in the public schools. I would recommend that community organizers select and use two or three issues which are uppermost in the minds of the parents and use these as drawing cards. Initial meetings should be small and should take place in the living rooms of the residents. They probably should not include any school personnel in the beginning. Even well-meaning community-minded teachers and principals will talk too much, usurp the meeting, and eliminate the possibility of an interchange. After the parents get themselves together, and establish some confidence as a group, which, of course, is the beginning of a power base, they can begin to make contact with school people.

Second, it is important that parents not be led to express unrealistic behavior. Even though I am convinced the schools must be responsive to the children and the community the schools never can really belong totally to the parents or the local community. State control of and responsibility for education is a national concept and will not be changed readily; I am not so sure it should be. In fact, except in the most affluent communities, local communities need state and federal help to pay the school bill. This is not to say that local parents and communities should not play a major participatory role in making decisions about the schools. But it seems to me that one serious mistake a community can make is to permit parents and other residents to take a simplistic view of reality. Such will lead only to more trouble.

Third, it is important to help parents and other community residents dispel the notion they may have that school people really want them around tampering with the schools. The contemporary school is operating at a moment in history when the linkage between the school and its constituencies is almost non-existent. But, the fact that parents are not wanted as participants does not mean that they should not participate. The important point being made here is that the parents will be better equipped to deal with the clever forms of repulsion in which educators will engage if they know how educators feel and are trained to deal with this feeling. Furthermore, this knowledge will help parents to understand and accept the legitimate roles of both parents and educators, and will not be dissipating their energies trying to do everything.

Fourth, even though school people are beginning to extend a hand of welcome to parents in community groups (in fact, some are saying that they want parents to come and work with them), community members should not be unrealistic about this. We are presently going through a period of willing spirits and weak flesh. There are no good models of mutuality of effort that I know about, nor are there many educators busy working on them. The extended hands really mean, please come to our meeting and participate in our discussion according to our rules. In this regard, the school personnel are sincere, but they really are not yet prepared for mutual input of ideas and questions nor are they ready for answers which are much different from those already developed by themselves. They do not want critical analyses and new answers, they want acceptance and reinforcement of the ideas they already have. Again, this conceptualization of the way it is, is not to be construed as a red light to stop parents and community residents from participating. Rather it should help them prepare and help them develop tactics which may lead to change in the behavior of school personnel, and at the same time preserve an interaction atmosphere. (Please notice who I'm suggesting might have to educate whom.)

In light of these last three ideas and questions which many parents embrace in their minds and emotions, there are several things which community residents and parents should be doing to prepare themselves for the new day of the community school. Unless this preparation occurs little headway will be made in the creation of the new community school. At least, there will be considerable chaos in the process. Unfortunately, I see little evidence that this preparation is underway.

Before parents and residents begin to engage the professionals in dialogues about the schools, they need to be prepared for the encounter. To date most of them have been unprepared. They come into contact with clever articulate teachers and administrators devoted to preserving the institution. Unless they have had a chance to get themselves together and to understand the methods used by the educator to co-op their ideas and minds, they cannot make the contribution to the healthy growth and change which is so important, and which cannot take place without the dynamic contribution of a foreign agent. Parents need training that will help them do the following things:

1. Avoid using examples in their presentations to educators taken from their own educational experiences. Even though education has changed little, and may have deteriorated some since the ghetto parent was in school, the one thing educators are expert in is convincing adults that they are out of tune with the present, and that their own school experience cannot be used as a baseline to judge or recommend changes in current programs. Parents must be helped to understand that this approach is like using a boomerang. It will just come back and hit them over the head.

2. Parents need also to learn that educators are expert in the divide and conquer technique, -- when they are confronted with groups who are threatening to change or destroy their thing. Also parents need to understand that educators are literally scared silly of well-organized parent and community groups who are well-informed and solidly together on ideas and issues. Knowing these two facts, parents should take the time to form solid groups around critical issues, and then make sure they are prepared for the encounter as a group before they go. This means that they should invite in professional consultants. I suspect that they can get many of them for free. Parents should have discussion sessions, do role-playing, create and answer questions, do everything possible to get themselves ready.

3. Knowing that insecure educators are afraid of well-organized groups, parents should also learn techniques that will neutralize this insecurity so that they can get their ideas heard by the educators and not get shut off or run out.

4. Parents also need preparation and training which will help them select those aspects of the school over which they should have something to say, and to identify those aspects over which the educator should retain the decision. The model which I have presented may help in this regard. I believe that if parents and other community residents can focus on specific aspects of the educational enterprise, and at the same time acknowledge that educators have a rightful role for determining aspects of that enterprise, an atmosphere of mutual respect can be developed that will provide a basis for the interchange. Certainly this will initiate a freshness into the dialogue that may be enlightening to educators who have tended to discredit any form of outside intervention.

5. If parents and community are not to fail in their efforts to become effective participants in the decision-making process, they should have training which will give them knowledge about and insight into, such concepts of power-balance and shared control. They need to be helped to understand the complexities of the power struggle, and to be prepared to recognize the value of and accept small steps forward. They need to look at power struggles in areas outside of education in the perspective of time so that they can maintain a balanced outlook in this regard. They need also to understand how the established parent-teacher organizations have actually worked against true parent participation in the decisions which are important in the operation of the enterprise by expending parent energy in projects which are peripheral to the real problems and concerns of the school. If parents are to be involved

in real issues, they need to guard against becoming entangled in these other activities. Of course, school administrators and teachers will not be happy when parents reject their pet projects, and will probably interpret this action as evidence of apathy.

6. In developing an understanding of the power concept parents and community residents need to see the value of building into their groups responsible business and management leaders to reinforce their ranks and increase their power base. This is not particularly easy to do in communities where the business component is operated by absentee owners. However, the business men's association in the community might be co-opted by the parent in resident groups. Leaders of other institutions and agencies can also become important components in the community groups. However, their involvement must be controlled and should not be invited prematurely. Many of the agencies have designs on parents and residents which are similar to those of the schools. They want parent involvement but on their terms.

7. Parents must also be helped to understand how in the past their potential strength has been dissipated by their own capricious actions. Parents and residents have never asked enough of themselves. A going organization, regardless of its purposes, requires plenty of human energy. It needs an independent financial base, and leadership selected and controlled by its own constituency. Therefore, the community can never have an effective decision-making voice in the schools as long as it permits the school to set up the meetings, invite the parents, and set up the agenda. The parents themselves must create their own structure, meeting where they wish, and developing their agenda and courses of action. Parents must stop playing into the hands of the school power structure. They must not always vote for the bond issue or the tax increase. If the schools are not what they want them to be they

must organize tax strikes; vote down general levy increases and bond issues which do not call for specific improvements.

Of course, what I'm calling for this morning may appear to be impossible. You might ask who will instruct the parents and residents as to what must be done and who will organize the effort. I'm not having very much trouble with this. It is already happening. Leaders, especially among the black community, are emerging. There is Jesse Jackson of Chicago; Kenneth Haskins in Washington, and Reverend Arthur Brazier. You've heard the name of Anderson Thompson in our conference. He is a great young man! Powerful, intelligent, decisive, perceptive. Concerned parent groups are springing up everywhere. They are struggling for the appropriate place to enter the educational establishment. They need a model. I hope mine will help. These groups are not always prepared, and they are still not having too much success. But their presence is beginning to be felt and will be felt much more very soon. You can rightfully conclude from what I have said that I support the rise of these groups. I think they are absolutely essential to the future of free, independent, equal public education. But if this is the case, the time is now appropriate for educators and teacher education institutions to become positively involved in this new era of parent participation and community negotiations. New teachers and practicing teachers should be helped to understand what is happening and to encourage the development of relationships which will lead to a rational and productive mutuality of effort.

Education cannot hold complete power any longer. But the parents and the community cannot have this power either. The power must be shared along rational lines. The community is bubbling and developing its base. I do not see school men dealing with this problem sensibly and/or even at all. I see them fighting back, trying to rationalize their actions, using old worn-out irrelevant premises. Or even, I see them behaving as if what I'm saying this morning doesn't exist. I'm terribly afraid that we may find school situations developing in communities that represent a complete shift to the other extreme which, of course, could require another hundred years to correct.

If I sound like a voice crying in the wilderness, ladies and gentlemen, check me out. If I'm wrong, forget what I've said, but if I'm right, then ACT! I think there is hope if we act now, but if we retain our true heritage as educators, we won't act. We'll get out the locks so that we are ready to act after the horse is stolen.

Chapter Six

PROBLEMS OF STAFFING INNER-CITY SCHOOLS

F. J. Johnson
Professional Services Coordinator
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The American school system as we know it is thought by many to be an absolute failure. The fact of the matter is that the school system has been remarkably successful if it is viewed in terms of the reason why it was established. It was never intended that everyone should be educated. The school system was not designed that way. It was designed to train upper middle-class white Americans and it does so fairly well even today. The problem is that without changing the original design, we have now come to expect the public school system to train everybody, even the disadvantaged of the inner city. That kind of expectation is the epitome of foolishness. The schools of the inner city are not failing because of an innate lack of success associated with the inner city itself, but because the public school system has never changed itself to meet the changing demands made upon it. It is a serious indictment against good sense to ignore people who are asking whether or not public education as we now know it is any longer relevant in American society.

Of the many disruptive and disturbing influences that are now plaguing American schools, staffing the inner-city schools is most crucial. Undesirable positions as well as desirable positions must be filled if a system is to operate effectively. The problem of major concern then is staffing those positions that are undesirable because of slow children, disturbed children, retarded children, physically handicapped children, poor children, dirty children, or even bad mannered children, or because of conditions in the inner city, or because of undesirability due to school plant, equipment, or neighborhood.

There are numerous types of personnel policies attempting to address themselves to the problem of staffing the inner-city schools. None of them are adequate. In fact they seem to aggravate the problem rather than relieve it. The inner city is being avoided. There is a growing concern for the students of the inner city. Their heritage is being denied; their education is being slighted. The nation's effort to upgrade the educational achievement of the disadvantaged is at a critical stage in its relatively short history. We must find some answers now or history will yet record American education as the biggest failure ever fostered on mankind. Perhaps it is relevant to ask just what are the problems involved in staffing the inner-city schools? Why is it such a task to get good teachers to go into the inner city?

One of the reasons of course is the myths about the inner city. Presumably violence, extortion, drug sales take place in inner-city schools, but the myth is that they always do. Poverty, unemployment, fatherless families are a part of the inner city; the myth is that everyone is poor, unemployed, and fatherless. Crimes occur in the inner city; the myth is that they do not occur in the affluent suburbs. The inner city is supposed to be the symbol of all that is bad and undesirable. The harsh reality is that people are as much afraid that they will be forced to recognize that they are inadequate, as they are that they will be physically attacked. The evidence seems to indicate that there is only a little more chance of one being harmed in the inner city as there is of his being harmed outside of it. The fact is that no matter what the evidence indicates, people believe to the contrary and they do not flock into the inner city to teach.

The myths are exaggerated out of proportion by the occurrence of a single or a few incidents:

One teacher attacked
Two sets of tires slashed
Some windows broken
One knifing
One riot at high school
Two fights following a basketball game

Statements emerge like "that's what the inner city is like" and "I wouldn't risk my life going in there for love nor money." I admit that many of these things happen in the inner city -- but not only in the inner city. They happen in the "best" communities. Their frequency is exaggerated out of proportion. The problems of the inner-city teachers are probably greater than those of other teachers; it takes more skill and more patience; it means taking greater risks; it means being creative and innovative; it means most of all an opportunity to do a worthwhile thing.

OTHER PROBLEMS:

1. The nature of the inner city itself.

   The physical conditions of schools -- old run-down, poor toilet facilities, no lunchrooms or lounges, noisy.

   The attitudes of the inhabitants -- hopeless despair -- stoicism.

2. The inadequacies of current training programs.

   No program specifically trains one to teach in the inner city.

   Regular teacher training is not enough.

   Must know idiom and life style of the ghetto.

   Must learn to accept a different set of values.

3. The absence of any real incentives.

   No more pay.

   Poor buildings and lack of supplies.

   Administrative domination -- no chance to do your "thing".

   Lack of cooperation.

Attracting Teachers to the Inner-City School

There are many ways to attract experienced teachers to the inner-city school. It now becomes the responsibility of education associations and school officials to make use of some of those ways.

1. More educational supportive services to help the teacher solve the problems encountered.
2. More instructional materials, visual aids, learning devices, and materials designed for the instructional problems encountered.
3. More supportive help in the ways of teacher aides, clerical help, and personnel to relieve teachers of non-teaching duties.
4. Require service in inner-city schools for promotion to administrative positions within them.
5. Higher salary for teachers in the inner-city schools.
6. Inducements other than salary, such as parking, teacher preparation and rest areas, and adequate security in the school, and pre-service and in-service training programs.
7. Experimental programs with teacher participation.

Pre-Service and In-Service Programs

Most teachers feel inadequately prepared to teach in inner-city schools. They want and recognize the need for preparation before assignment and continued training after assignment. Such programs should be designed by every school system. This type of training should be completely underwritten by school districts.

Boards of education should:

1. Establish a systematic method of attracting and preparing liberal arts college graduates for teaching, especially mothers whose own children have now all finished school.

2. Use laboratory schools as laboratories for urban teacher education.
3. Encourage more in-migrant youth (by use of scholarships, grants-in-aid, etc.) to go to college to prepare for teaching.
4. Foster greater cooperation between colleges and universities.
5. Provide systematic and realistic help for the new and inexperienced teacher.
6. Encourage the use of, and provide training for, parents as teacher aides or paraprofessionals, especially in the ghetto schools.

Who Is Responsible for What?

Within the educational system, responsibility for solving the problem may be divided among four groups:

1. Board of Education
    a. Develop with teachers and administrators clear-cut policies for teacher placement, assignment, and transfer.
    b. Establish preservice and in-service programs for teachers and administrators.
    c. Provide initiative and funding for needed instructional materials and added personnel.
    d. Institute long -- and short-range building programs to eliminate inadequate buildings and impossible teaching situations.
    e. Establish regular repair and maintenance schedules and see that they are carried out equally with every school.
    f. Encourage experimental programs to solve problems.
    g. Provide for community participation in the governance of individual schools.
2. Administrators
    a. Develop, in cooperation with teachers, procedures for placement, transfer and assignment.

b. Ensure consistent application and administration of all procedures.

c. Recommend to the board of education programs which will enable the board to carry out their responsibilities.

d. Adopt procedures and practices which will encourage good building-level administration.

3. Professional Associations

a. State associations should engage in an organized legislative program aimed at liberalizing the current teacher certification processes as well as making teaching certificates reciprocal (valid in each state of the country).

b. Negotiate policies and procedures on transfer and assignment in every school system.

c. Encourage experimental programs involving all educators.

d. Make a long-range building program the subject of negotiations with the board of education. Every association negotiating with a board of education has a responsibility to eliminate adverse teaching situations.

e. Investigate school buildings and call to the attention of the board of education and the community those schools in which teaching and learning conditions are most adverse. If there is no action, the association should encourage, organize, and support withdrawal of all teacher services until at least short-range improvements have been made.

4. Individual Teachers

Each teacher has a professional responsibility to assist in solving these problems. Some have been caused by the individual resistance of teachers. Some cannot be solved until that resistance ends. Every educator has an obligation to make some contribution to the solution of these problems. The total impact of teacher action on any problem is the sum of individual teacher action. Teachers should recognize this and their obligation to support answers to these problems. Success of any program may in the long run depend most upon the reaction, support, and cooperation of the teachers engaged in that program.

Community Participation

In many urban areas, community groups have expressed concern about the staffing of their schools. They have indicated they wish to bring about better quality staff by having a voice in staffing.

If the school system has poor personnel practices and the teachers suffer from uncertainty and poor morale, the desires of parents will appear to teachers to be direct threats and a further cause for uncertainty and concern.

Parents should be concerned about the people who teach their children. They have a right to express that concern and to have it satisfied.

Constructive measures can be taken and will be more successful if the teachers can enter such plans with no uncertainty about the school system's personnel policies. Successful examples and case studies of community participation in the governance of schools are available.

Black Power

The black power groups present a special form of community desire to participate in the affairs of the schools. Here we consider black power to be the strong desire for self-determination and self-identity by black people. Such an expression is a fact of life in the big city. It must not be ignored in consideration of teacher assignment.

One concern for the black power groups has been the staffing of the schools. They have generally asked for all-black faculties. It is doubtful that there are enough teachers to meet this demand to meet the need to integrate the faculties of the all-white schools. It may be that demands for numbers are in reality demands for participation and power in the running of the schools. Examples of acceptance of integrated faculties by black power groups can be cited. This may indicate that the problem of faculty balance and make-up may be solved in part by meaningful community participation in resolving other problems and making decisions on a wider range of school matters.

What all of this means is simply this. The hour is late. Our inner-city schools are in peril. I don't know if there is enough time left to save them. What I do know is that no matter what the cost, we must continue to press along.

The causes of the inner-city problems are too numerous to list. They include: low income and occupational status, deficient health and housing, teacher attitudes, racism, curriculum relevancy, racial isolation in the school system, lack of self-concept on the part of the students, and low expectation for job opportunities, to name a few. We cannot fight on all fronts at one time. We must pick our target, and focus all our resources on that one point. I submit that staffing the inner-city schools might be an important point of focus.

As we view our position in education, it is fair to say that we have done a number of things well. It is also fair to say that we must do much better and soon. The life and strength of this nation is in its cities. If we lose the cities, we lose the nation.

We are guilty of allowing low educational achievement, high rates of dropouts, and poor preparation for life in an urban society to characterize the inner city. We have allowed it to become a community that is neglected, ignored, and abused. We may have to pay an awful price for this folly if we don't wake up.

There is a revolution going on in education and we don't have much time to get with it. The question is often raised -- why now? Why are teachers a part of this revolution in education.

1. It is because there is a new brand of teacher.

   He is younger -- 31 percent are men, 41 percent have only 5 years experience.

   Better education, almost all have a B.A.; 4 out of 10 an M.A.

   More highly skilled, married, 2 dependents.

   More impatient, demanding, courageous.

   More willing to risk job and reputation.

2. It is because there is a new awareness of the fact that in a country with affluence such as ours, it is inexcusable that our educational system is in the condition that it is.

   More spent for cosmetics, beer, wine than for schools.

   Average teacher earns $6,800 per year -- hardly enough.

   A large number of our children cannot even attend school because of abject poverty conditions.

3. It is because teachers are no longer willing to sit back and do nothing while education continues to go down hill.

4. It is because the power structure has resisted change for so long.

   We haven't had any significant changes in curriculum in the last 50 years.

   We are just now beginning to look at differentiated roles for staff.

Our teacher training programs are woefully inadequate.

5. It is because of a recognition on the part of teachers that if change is going to occur, they are going to have to be the change agents.
    School officials have been reluctant
    Politicians have been incapable
    Parents and community leaders have been apathetic and indifferent.
6. It is because the time is right for revolution
    People all over the world are demanding change
    There is a new sensitivity to the desirability of change.
7. It is because the only thing that seems to get attention is a revolt
    All attempts to patch up the present system have failed
    One must destroy the old in order to make way for the new
    (let it be understood that I am opposed to violence)
8. It is finally because teachers feel a moral and professional responsibility to change the old order
    to develop relevant curriculum
    to conduct relevant teacher training programs
    to provide new learning experiences for children
    to address themselves to the real needs of children
    to create a climate where teachers are free to teach and children free to learn
    to prove once and for all that the tenets of a good education so strongly implied by the founding fathers is a reality and not a lie.

I guess what I am saying is that there is a teacher revolt in education because teachers have become militant. It is a militancy rooted in the need for change and in the intense desire of teachers for something better for themselves and the students of the inner city. The surprising thing is that the revolt was long coming. Now that it is here, it is our responsibility to get on with the business of staffing our inner-city schools. How we assume that responsibility may very well determine the future of American education.

There is still abundant reason to hope that out of the dark despair of our present situation will come the rays of hope for the future. Let us therefore strive to change those things which we cannot accept, and accept those things that we cannot change; and may God grant us the wisdom to know the difference between the two.

Chapter Seven

INNER-CITY EDUCATION FIELD REPORTS

Part 1

Northeastern Illinois State College, Chicago

Nancy Arnez, Center for Inner-City Students

It is our belief at the Center for Inner City Studies that the proper study for teachers in inter-city schools is the inner city. Therefore, we have set up a multi-disciplinary curriculum called Inner-City Studies which teaches about black children, Spanish speaking children, southern migrant white children, and American-Indian children: their needs, their parents' needs, through the academic approaches of history, anthropology, sociology, communications, education, psychology, social work, and literature. An important aspect of the training is provided in social agencies. From supervised work in Social Agencies servicing low-income youth and their parents, participants will gain an intimate view of poverty.

In the past many teachers studied for a Master's Degree in a traditional subject matter area such as English, Social Studies, or Mathematics. They took their major work in such areas as administration, curriculum, or testing. The former courses prepared teachers with additional competence in their subject matter areas. The latter were used to upgrade their recipients, move their recipients out of the classroom. Neither are necessarily related to the improvement of classroom teaching through an in-depth understanding of children of poverty, or of a different ethnic minority group. Our program assumes that experienced certified teachers already have achieved a degree of competency in subject matter areas. If, of course, they wish to gain additional competency or wish to move into the areas of administration or supervision, colleges and universities throughout the country can provide them with this kind of training. It is our belief though that what many teachers lack is an ability to break through the cultural barriers which alienate them from their pupils and consequently cause many teachers to leave the profession because of the lack of successful experiences. Our curriculum, therefore, is designed for the purpose of upgrading classroom teachers through an understanding of disadvantaged pupils and their communities, the use and design of innovative materials, a consideration of curricula changes and methods, and the development of participants as catalysts for changing established institutions which hurt poor people, or black people, or other minority people.

Two basic objectives for our participants are:

First, to know disadvantaged children. To know their needs, to know how they cope with an existence that forces certain responses that we might think of as socially dysfunctional but which serve their needs very adequately to survive in their community, but perhaps will not let them survive in other ways that most people view as normal and functional.

The second is a know-thyself concept. Consider how the behavior of a teacher affects the growth and aspirations of children. How does a teacher's behavior, who believes that poor black children cannot learn, or who believes that children who speak Spanish are not worthy of being taught -- how does that behavior affect a child's potential to be a part of the American mainstream? And, again, how does racism corrode those who are the recipients, and those who are the givers of it? What we do is expose our teachers to curriculum whereby they can make some of these discoveries for themselves. This, of course, can be and is most painful when one discovers that by virtue of the experiences provided him that he is behaving in ways that have been hurting children and holding them back.

Other agencies which combine to make this a superior program are the social agencies servicing for minority group youths and their parents. The purpose of the agency internship is to afford the fellows the kinds of relationships with children, the parents, and the community which formal course work does not permit. Such organizations include the urban progress centers for various minority groups, the Abraham Lincoln Settlement House, and other grassroots organizations throughout the community. The auxiliary community committee is another feature of our program. It includes indigenous leaders, minority group thinkers, artists and authors. These provide an ongoing community school relationship which keeps the center tuned into community needs and desires. This enhances the formal instructional program considerably.

Ours is a totally new curriculum now in its third year of operation. With the consultation of experts in education, psychology, communication, social studies and cultural anthropology, it has been devised to train teachers to cope with the needs of inner-city pupils. The curriculum combines a theoretical approach with actual experiences of working closely with inner-city residents. Two of the requirements are as follows: first, each student is required to write a master's paper which is presented to a seminar during the final trimester; and in addition, each student will be examined orally by a committee consisting of his advisor and instructors, plus selected, knowledgeable indigenous community leaders.

The courses are as follows: (Not all of our courses, but just some to give you an idea of the kind of studies we are providing the students.) "Graduate Study in Disadvantagement" is an introduction to graduate study in the problems of disadvantaged cultures such as: Afro-Americans, American Indians, southern white migrants, Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans. This course is required and should be taken early in the student's matriculation.

Another very important course is "Research Methods in Inner-City Studies." This course treats research design and analysis of data. It includes methods for collecting and interpreting data, observation, formulation of hypothesis, techniques of interviewing, questionnaire construction, and writing of reports. A primary objective of the course is to train students to read research studies with understanding and to apply the findings to classroom instruction. "History and Culture of Afro-Americans" is another important course. It includes the study of African derivation and the culture of American slavery. It also focuses on urban and rural existence. And then, too, we have "History and Culture of Southern White Migrants." The history of the southern white migrant is treated in conjunction with an examination of the culture of the people. The major emphasis is on the family religion, education, and economic status, and their respective roles in the transition from the rural way of life to an urban one.

We have also "History and Culture of People of Spanish Descent", meaning in this case, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. The cultures of the Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Cubans are studied against their historical backgrounds. Special attention is given to an understanding of the individual's problems in transition from peasant to urban societies. "History and Cultures of American Indians" is another course, and in this course we study the treatment, the general history, and the distribution by cultural area of the North American Indian. A description and analysis of representative Indian values is undertaken in order to understand the problems in the change from tribal to non-tribal systems. Another course is "Research Writing." This course teaches methods of questionnaire construction, the design of tables, and the technical writing of research reports and theses. It is focused on types of research study such as case study, descriptive study, survey study, and so forth.

"Methods of Teaching in the Inner City" is a vital course in our program. It presents a philosophical approach to teaching, curriculum development, adjustment to meet needs of inner-city pupils, and new approaches for teaching the hard-to-reach pupil. Students will develop units in their own major teaching areas utilizing new materials and techniques. Special emphasis is on the development of positive pupil self-concepts. "Literature of Minorities" is a very valuable course included in our offerings. It is an approach to the study of minority cultures through literature written by and about those minorities. Literary works concerned with Afro-Americans, southern migrant whites, American Indians, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans are studied through the reading of novels, plays, biographies, essays, poems, and short stories. Students will be able to gain insights into the culture attributes of these groups. "Language Behavior of the Disadvantaged" is another course offered. In addition, we have "Seminar in Disadvantagement, Americans of Spanish Descent: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans." Another course offering is "Seminar in Disadvantagement - the American Indian." We also have a seminar in field internship, and, of course, the field internship itself, which I have talked about earlier.

A major, most important aspect of this whole program is a colloquium which is a part of the totality of experiences provided at our center for our experienced teachers. It is a session which meets once a week throughout the eleven months where participants explore who they are, where they come from, and where they are going. They come face to face with themselves. It is a cathartic as well as a traumatic experience. Many people begin to learn about their own prejudices. Many of our students become quite frightened by this. But by the end of the colloquium sessions, we find many of our students begin to understand what they must do to change themselves and change conditions, and this we consider to be a very valuable asset of this whole program.

Another aspect of our whole program is a lecture series which we provide. Generally we have approximately fourteen lectures per year, about two per month during the session. This year we heard Reverend John Porter, whose presentation was "An Educational, Cultural, Ideological Model Developed to Free Black People, the American Nation, and the World." Included in our series, too, was Mr. Marcus Foster, principal of Simon Gratz Senior High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His topic was "How to Make A School Relevant." Dr. Ed Forte, Superintendent of Schools in Inkster, Michigan, talked on "Integration: Its Attitudinal and Curricular Implications." Dr. Donald H. Smith, our founder, currently the director of the University-Community-Educational Programs at the University of Pittsburgh, spoke on "The Crisis of Black Education." Mrs. Sonia Stone, acting director of the Center of Inner-City Studies, chose the topic "Rhapsody in Black", a beautiful presentation which was produced this summer, at the center. Later, we will have Dr. Joseph McMillan, Supervisor of Inner-City Schools, Grand Rapids Public Schools, Grand Rapids, Michigan, to talk on the topic, "Early Childhood Education in the Inner City", and we will also have Dr. Mildred B. Smith, Assistant Superintendent of Flint, Michigan Public Schools, Flint, Michigan, to speak on the topic, "Curriculum Changes for Disadvantaged Pupils". These lectures run until January. There will be additional ones added after the first of the year.

Now, hear about our graduates. We find that a number of our graduates are moving into positions of much greater influence, such as those of curriculum designers. In the Minneapolis Public Schools, as trainers of teachers, and as directors of integration in large and small school systems. They're moving into areas of principalships, assistant directors of teacher corps programs -- to name just a few. Faculty visits to last year's graduates have attested to the quality of graduate fellows' teaching. The graduates, the administrators, and their supervisors have enthusiastically endorsed the inner-city studies curriculum and other experiences provided. Follett Publishing Company located in Chicago is in the process of negotiating with one of our 1967 graduates to publish her three pre-primers about black children. This, of course, she prepared during her involvement in our program. Follett has also contacted a 1968 participant for consultative purposes on the American Indian, and plans to include his short story on American Indians in its new language arts textbook. Several current participants and graduates are writing book reviews for the Negro Bibliographic and Research Center located in Washington, D.C. Both current and past fellows and their instructors act as consultants to school systems, Head Start Programs, Follow-Through Programs, and numerous workshops on disadvantagement. In addition, both fellows and their instructors act as consultants to numerous community groups throughout the Chicago metropolitan area.

It is our firm belief that participants in the inner-city studies program will become sensitive to the desires, needs, and expectations of disadvantaged minority people, that they will be motivated to tune in to minority people's solutions to their own problems, that they see realistic ways of changing obstructive social and political institutions and practices. We further believe that our participants see that the job of the teacher is to help these youths who, seeing the reality of their present positions, need to understand the causes and formulate plans to change positively the course of their lives. We believe our participants begin to be as realistic as their students about the alternatives which are open to them, and help their students see that present reality is not necessarily future reality. In addition, we believe our participants see that the current curriculum does not focus on the realistic concerns of their students or that it is harmful and hurtful because it generally ignores, castigates, or pokes fun at them. We believe that our participants will come to see that some middle-class values and the a middle-class oriented system are academically, socially, economically, and psychologically irrelevant for many children from low-income families.

Lastly, we believe our program will provide our participants with insight into all of the above and the know-how for making some significant changes.

INNER-CITY EDUCATION FIELD REPORTS (Continued)

Part 2

Fisk University, Nashville

George N. Redd, Dean of Education

Teacher education at Fisk University in recent years has been conditioned mainly by a very significant trend in American life -- the rapid urbanization of the nation's population and the increasing complexity of the social and educational problems resulting therefrom. This trend started on a large scale during World War I, with the great population shifts from the country to the city and from the South to the Northeast and the West. These shifts were accelerated rapidly during, and immediately following World War II.

During that period, there was a steady flow of the Negro population from the rural South to the large urban centers of the region and the nation. A significant number of these persons, largely uneducated and unskilled, settled in the inner city, creating, because of circumstances mainly beyond their control, what are commonly referred to now as the slums and ghettos. As a result, serious social and educational problems have emerged, placing tremendous demands upon schools and other agencies in the urban centers. In several of the large cities of the nation, the school population of the inner city has become one-half or predominantly Negro. Recognizing with great concern these trends, Fisk University has focused its teacher education program chiefly on the preparation of teachers for schools in the changing urban centers of the nation, particularly for the inner city.

The University has always regarded teacher education as a responsibility of the entire institution, with every department of study contributing to its development and effectiveness. However, the responsibility for the organization and administration of the program is delegated to the Department of Education. The academic structure of Fisk University consists of a Liberal Arts College and a Graduate Division, offering instruction on the Master of Arts level in seven departments, including the Department of Education. The Fisk student body is predominantly middle class Negro, contributed by parents from the professional and business group. The students come chiefly from the urban centers of the nation, extending from Boston in New England, to San Francisco and Los Angeles on the Pacific Coast. They were prepared for college mainly in the public high schools of the inner city. Due to the prevailing pattern of residential segregation, they live in subdivisions or on the better residential streets within or in close proximity to the ghetto. About one-fourth of the undergraduate student body of 1200 expect to teach. Most of them will assume teaching assignments in the inner city. Many look forward to this with enthusiasm. They know the problems of inner-city schools and they have deep feelings about them; their parents are active in community improvement movements and projects; therefore, they want to do something also, to improve education and life in the inner city. This is one of their great hopes as teachers.

The Educational Policy Committee of the Faculty believes that the best basic preparation for excellent teachers is a sound education in the liberal arts. Thus, as a matter of policy, all prospective teachers are required to pursue the University's common program in general education during the first two years in college. Major study begins in the junior year. Prospective high school teachers major in the subject matter areas in which they expect to teach, while prospective elementary school teachers pursue a major in elementary education.

As a matter of principle, the Department of Education believes that any teacher preparation program should be concerned with the concrete problems and practical situations of the communities and the schools which the prospective teacher expects to serve, and with the cultures of the people who live in the communities. Several of the courses in the general education sequence relate to the problems of American cities and of the minority groups who live in the inner city. This applies specifically to courses in the Social Sciences. Special courses related to Negro life and culture have been developed over the years and are available as electives.

All of the professional courses in education relate to a common objective -- the development of competence to cope with the human and educational problems of the inner city, created by recent changes in the social structure of the urban community. Three key courses are included in the professional sequences required of all prospective teachers:

First, there is a general course in Education listed as "American Education: Principles and Practices", in which a significant part is devoted to present day American society and education, emphasizing the social structure of American cities, social changes affecting education, social forces in the community influencing education, and the present crisis in urban education. At this time, much attention is given to the present school crisis in New York City, where many Fisk students expect to return as teachers.

Second, a course called "Growing Up in the Inner City", which deals with the impact of the various forces in the inner city upon the growth and development of children from birth through adolescence. Attention is given to such factors as housing, family life, poverty, segregation, discrimination, and others. Resource persons from private and governmental agencies, pressure groups, and various departments of the University are invited to participate in the course as lecturers or consultants, in order to broaden and enrich the experiences of the students enrolled.

Third, the course, "Student Teaching" provides opportunities for actual teaching, under competent supervision, in the inner-city schools of Nashville and occasionally, elsewhere. The elementary student teacher devotes the entire day to this assignment for a period of eight weeks or one-half of a semester. This enables her to gain valuable experiences in every phase of the work of the elementary teacher. The other half of the semester is devoted to classroom studies. The high school student teacher devotes a full morning or a full afternoon to her assignment, which extends throughout the semester.

Two additional courses in Education are available as electives to prospective inner-city teachers. One, "Education in the South", recognizes the University's traditional obligation to the region. This course places emphasis upon the social, economic, and political movements, which have influenced educational thought and practice in the South; the rise and decline of a bi-racial education as a legal practice; the struggle for educational equality; and the changing pattern of education in the South today. One-half of the Fisk student body comes from Southern cities. This course should prove helpful to those who will remain in the region as teachers.

The other course, "Education of the Negro", provides an analysis of significant research and other publications on the education of the Negro in America from Reconstruction to the present. Emphasis is placed upon those forces in the nation which have determined and conditioned educational opportunities for Negro citizens; and those which have precipitated the present crisis in inner-city education throughout the country.

Other professional courses in the undergraduate program, relate to curriculum and teaching, general psychology, educational psychology, and educational tests and measurements. The departmental faculty recognizes several departures in this program from the conventional approach; however, it does not regard the program as unique or spectacular, but one that is sound -- one that has a purpose and attempts to fulfill it.

Possibly the most dramatic of the Department's efforts in recent years to meet the challenge of the inner city has been on the graduate level. Recognizing further, the traditional commitment of the University to the Southland, the Department of Education devised three years ago, a graduate program, whereby the institution would strengthen and utilize its total educational resources for the preparation of a select group of experienced elementary teachers for the new kind of social and intellectual leadership needed for the changing public schools of the region. This involved education in human relations, as well as in the technical and substantive aspects of the profession.

In order to guarantee ample support for this venture, assistance was sought from, and granted by, the United States Office of Education, under Title V (Part C) of the Higher Education Act of 1965. It was understood that if the proposal was approved and the program granted a subsidy, the Department would operate it as a pilot project for one year; and if successful, it would continue, with necessary modifications, as the approved graduate program of the Department for majors in elementary education.

The general purpose of this program was to assist experienced elementary school teachers of promise to understand and interpret the prevailing educational and social problems in the cities of the changing South; and to provide them with the basic preparation necessary to cope with such problems as teachers of children and leaders in the community.

The more specific objectives are as follows:

1. To create among teachers an awareness of the changes and events taking place in the cities of the nation and of the South;
2. To help them identify and interpret developments and problems in public education caused by these changes and events;
3. To help teachers obtain the fundamental knowledge, information, and skills, and other experiences needed to deal effectively with the prevailing problems and the concrete situations;
4. To assist them in developing competence in the selection and planning of learning materials, the direction of the learning process, the translation of progressive educational theories into actual practice; and the utilization of newer educational materials, devices, and procedures to improve the effectiveness of the teaching-learning process.

The courses and other experiences provided to implement these objectives were devoted mainly to the tasks of making education in school relevant to community needs; but at the same time developing among pupils social and intellectual competence at each level of development to make them functional members of society.

Through these two programs, the undergraduate and the graduate -- the University hopes to send to the urban centers, teachers who are dedicated; and teachers who are qualified to provide the new kind of social and educational leadership so sorely needed in the inner-city schools of the nation. Thus far, American institutions for the education of teachers have unfortunately failed in a large measure to do this.

INNER-CITY EDUCATION FIELD REPORTS (Continued)

Part 3

Texas Southern University, Houston

Clifton M. Claye, Professor of Education

Greetings from Texas Southern University -- its staff and its forty-five hundred (4,500) predominantly Negro students. Being located in Houston, in Texas, in the South I am sure that you appreciate the limitations imposed on us in terms of program development.

In 1962 in several of our local schools in different type neighborhoods we were permitted to administer some tests -- Achievement, Self-Concept, I. Q., Aptitude, and Interest. This permission was granted with the understanding that we would not make the results of the test public without prior approval of the school board. The tests were administered as a part of our effort to ascertain directions for the preparation of teachers. As you might expect, the students in the schools located in those areas which could and should have been classified as deprived, scored at or near the bottom. These schools were in what we commonly refer to as 'inner-city schools'.

A part of our task in this work was motivation of the teachers in these schools to do a better job of teaching. Accordingly, we reviewed the test results with the teachers involved and asked for an explanation. Again, as you might imagine, the explanations ran the gamut of excuses for non-teaching. These included broken homes, too many children in the family, not enough family income, poorly educated parents, no reading materials in the home, no father image in the home, et cetera.

As we went further into this task of motivating teachers we took the top and bottom five percent in overall achievement and ran some further analyses. To test the assumption that the reasons given by teachers for poor academic performance were the ones positively related to achievement we quantified the reasons given by using a modified version of the McGuire and White Social Status Index and ran simple correlations between achievement and the reasons given. To the surprise of the teachers concerned we found: (1) A negative correlation between educational level of parents and academic achievement; (2) A slight positive relationship between occupational level of parents and achievement; (3) An insignificant negative correlation between family income and achievement; (4) A negative correlation, significant at the five percent level, between the amount of reading materials in the home and achievement; (5) An insignificant negative correlation between family composition (living with both parents, living with mother or father, living with grandparents, living with aunt or uncle, living with sister or brother, et cetera) and academic performance; (6) An insignificant negative correlation between the number of siblings in the family and achievement; and (7) There were no significant differences in the variables studied for the top and bottom achievers. On the basis of the limited data collected we found that the more favorable the variable studied, according to what we in education think, the less likely it was that it would be positively associated with academic performance.

Again, we went to the teachers and reviewed the results and again asked 'why?'. It should not be surprising that, up to this day, the teachers involved have not admitted that the fault was their own.

As a consequence of this we formulated certain hypotheses regarding this problem and proceeded to test them as best we could. Among these postulates were:

1. Teachers of these kinds of children should be supportive rather than punitive.
2. Teachers of these kinds of children should be accepting rather than rejecting.
3. Teachers of these kinds of children should be imaginative and creative rather than pedantic and conforming.
4. Teachers of these kinds of children should be deeply committed to respecting others rather than imposing values on others.
5. Teachers of these kinds of children should be more concerned with the helping role rather than the institutional role of teachers.
6. Teachers of these kinds of children should be concerned about obtaining and presenting correct information to children rather than covering conventional subject matter.
7. Teachers of these kinds of children should be able to tolerate, consider, and respond to cultural values other than their own rather than reacting with immediate negation.
8. Teachers of these kinds of children should be committed to the school where they work and be perceptive of its social role rather than be just willing to do only a routine job.
9. Teachers of these kinds of children should be willing to fight for what they believe rather than just willing to accept orders and do as they are told.
10. Teachers of these kinds of children should be self-confident in the role of a professional person rather than be anxiety ridden in the face of problems.

I would imagine that what we postulated then has been very well expressed by Nat Hentoff in Our Children Are Dying as "Involvement." In any event we attempted to test these hypotheses in a number of ways -- you are already familiar with most of them. Perhaps the most interesting one we tried was what we called 'Gripe Sessions.' In this one we asked the teachers in the senior high school concerned to select the ten or fifteen most incorrigible children in the school. These names were passed on to us and we got permission from the principal to meet with this group for thirty minutes each week. In these sessions students were free to say what they felt, why they felt it, or anything else they chose to talk about. It was understood that none of the teachers would ever question them as to what they talked about or what we said. These sessions were under the direction of a Clinical Psychologist and went on for approximately twenty weeks. In the spring of the school year when student elections were held in the school, this group organized themselves into what they called 'The Section Eight Party', selected a slate of candidates and won the election. Incidentally one of these students was the first and only Merit Scholar in this particular school.

Since our motive for this activity was the improvement of our teacher preparation program it was only natural that once we established the fact that our assumptions had some validity we raised the question as to how we might incorporate the development of these characteristics among our pre-service teachers into our program. This is where we ran into problems. You know how difficult it is on a college campus to change a practice -- we are still trying. However, we are happy to report that several activities have been added to our program. Perhaps this reluctance to change should be blamed on our state rather than on our campus. You see, in Texas, we are told what to do and what not to do -- at least that is the way the regulations have been interpreted to us.

What have we done?

First, we have gone all out to recruit for the Teacher Education Program students who have demonstrated some degree of excellence in scholarship.

Secondly, we have designed a number of participation and observation activities to:

1. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate how children grow and develop and how this growth and development relate to learning.
2. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the sociological and anthropological theories as they relate to growth and learning.
3. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the socio-psychological-cultural web which controls growth and learning.
4. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the fact that the sub-culture to which inner-city children have been assigned makes it difficult effectively to improve academic performance.
5. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the fact that among inner-city children the frustrations resulting from cultural conflicts tend to produce early school leavers and poor academic performance.
6. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the fact that the usual instructional design, for middle-class youths, has not been too effective among inner-city children.

7. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the fact that alternatives to the present instructional methods employed in inner-city schools can quite profitably focus on positive changes in self-perception.
8. Help prospective teachers understand and appreciate the fact that what happens to inner-city children once they enter school is largely due to what teachers do and say.

Thirdly, we have highly structured these participation and observation activities so that they are correlated with course content while at the same time insuring that:

1. Students have an opportunity to compare learning styles, teaching styles, classroom management, parent-teacher relationships, community relationships, living styles, attitudes toward school and education, value systems, et cetera, in slum school communities, middle-class neighborhood school communities, suburban school communities, innovative school communities, and traditional school communities.
2. Content is relevant.
3. Prospective teachers learn to analyze, criticize all variables observed.
4. Administering and analyzing all kinds of tests.
5. A 'reality shock' is provided for prospective teachers.
6. Analysis of the teaching process is provided.
7. Practice in creating the conditions for teaching and learning.
8. Strategies for maintaining classroom discipline are developed.
9. Interaction skills are developed.
10. Communication skills are developed.

11. Practice in behavioral analysis of teaching is provided.

12. Skill in organizing for instruction is provided.

I was asked that this report to you be made in 12 to 18 minutes. This is a rather long time to take to tell you that our experience has been one of frustration -- that is what we have been attempting to do. You have been more than kind. Thank you for letting us share this time with you.

INNER-CITY EDUCATION FIELD REPORTS (Continued)

Part 4

University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls

Thomas G. Ryan, Chairman of University
Responsibility for Minority Group Education Committee

I am pleased that I have been able to be with you the last 24 hours, and that I have a chance to think out loud to an audience for the next few minutes. I am, as Dr. Earls pointed out, a historian, a member of the Department of Social Science, not a member of the Department of Education. I am also a member of the Committee on University Responsibility for Minority Group Education. This semester, due to various developments at the very beginning of the semester, I was released from most of my teaching assignments so that I might attempt to coordinate certain movements and plans for improving minority group education at the University of Northern Iowa.

I have particularly enjoyed your sessions so far because I have liked most of the things I have heard the speakers say. It seems to me that they have said, indirectly, that some of the things we at UNI have thought about, talked about, and taken first steps toward, have been desirable activities.

Before telling you what we at UNI are doing, or hoping to do, in minority group education, I'd like to give you a little context or background by telling you a little about this Institution and its setting. I think telling you about the Institution will make the remarks that follow somewhat more meaningful.

We are, like most of you from other schools, still primarily a teacher-education institution, even though we have passed through two name changes in the last seven years. Although we are no longer Iowa State Teachers College, we are still primarily a teacher-education institution. About 80 percent of the student body of 9100 students are in teacher-education programs. Thus, what many of the speakers of the last 24 hours have been saying has been very much directed toward people like us.

In another respect we are, I suppose, about as unlike the world of inner-city education described by various speakers in the last 24 hours as any institution could be. The University of Northern Iowa is virtually entirely a white institution, in a totally white city, in a state which is also overwhelmingly white.

We have just under 9100 students enrolled this semester, of whom only 97 are non-white. This is 1.1 percent of the student body who regard themselves as something other than white. 59 of the 97 have classified themselves as black or Afro. Six of the 59 are foreign students; 53 are Afro-Americans. Our faculty of 500 has only one black. We have only two or three blacks among our 400 non-academic employees. The city of Cedar Falls has two, three, or maybe four black families, not counting students, out of a total population of 26,000. The state of Iowa has about a 1 percent black population.

Most of our students are not only themselves white, but come from farms or small towns, which means that many have never had any firsthand experience whatsoever with black people or with other non-white people. Thus UNI while it is primarily a trainer of future teachers, is very far removed from the world of inner-city education, the world which has most concerned us for the last 24 hours.

Though we at UNI, Cedar Falls, and Iowa are 99 percent white, UNI is immediately next door to the city of Waterloo, an industrial city of about 75,000 population, which is 10 percent black and thus by far the blackest city in the State of Iowa, in terms of population composition. Waterloo has its own inner city, roughly the East Side. Look at the front page of the November 8, 1969, Des Moines Register. In one five-minute news story you will get a lot of information about Waterloo, and Iowa, race relations.

Waterloo is about 10 percent black, with all but 1/10th of 1 percent of the black people in this county living on the East Side of Waterloo. The term "East Side" is for many people in Black Hawk County a synonym for black. Not everyone on the East Side of Waterloo is black, but if you're black and you live in Waterloo, you live on the East Side of the river. It is also sometimes known as the "North End."

Waterloo, like most cities with sizable black populations, is extremely segregated in such things as residential patterns and school attendance. Here are just a few figures as of May 1, 1967. (I don't suppose you can expect a professor of history to be any more up to date than that.) At Grant Elementary School, the student body as of May 1, 1967 was 99.7 percent black. At City View Heights Elementary School, the student body as of May 1, 1967 was 83.2 percent black. At Longfellow Elementary School, 63.8 percent. There are 33 schools in the Waterloo Public School system, eleven of which had some black students. Obviously, black students are overwhelmingly concentrated in a few schools. Let me cite one or two other statistics to tell you about the world of UNI.

In Waterloo, as in most cities, especially in the North, residential and school segregation are increasing. Grant School, which is now 99.7 percent black, was 92 percent black in 1955. Longfellow is much more striking. In 1955 it was 27 percent black; twelve years later, in 1967, it was 63 percent black.

Waterloo is in many respects a microcosm of New York, Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, Cleveland, and other metropolitan areas, whether we talk about racial segregation, or whether we talk about the concomitant of it, white people fleeing the East Side of Waterloo to move either to the West Side of Waterloo or to Cedar Falls. So the University of Northern Iowa, a virtually all-white institution, in a virtually all-white state, in a virtually all-white city, is geographically not quite as far away from the inner city as we might otherwise think, at least a particular inner city in Waterloo.

Now that more or less tells you where we live, what things are like around here. From there I would like to go on and say something about the University of Northern Iowa, and some of the things it is talking about, and starting do do, in the field of minority group education. We do not hold ourselves up as a model, but we are the host institution, and it is usually only the host who has a chance to show his home movies.

The first thing we might note is me. I am an assistant professor of history. So far in the last 24 hours we've heard from a Head of the Department of Education, a Dean of the College of Education, a Director of an Urban Education Center, a Professor of Education, a Dean of Education, a Board of Education member, an Assistant Superintendent, a faculty member from a School of Education, a Professor of Education, a Director of Elementary Education, a Superintendent of an Elementary School District, a Professor of Education, a principal, an Assistant Professor of Education, and now an Assistant Professor of History.

My presence here tells you something about the UNI program in minority group education. It tells you that the program here is University-wide in terms of having participants from various academic departments, somewhat as Dr. Larson suggested in his talk yesterday. The UNI program began eleven months ago when another professor of history, who is quite concerned about racial justice and race relations, learned of the existence in Chicago of the Center for Inner-City Studies, from which Miss Arnez spoke yesterday.

He began to talk to some of his friends on our faculty about the Center for Inner-City Studies. And he said "Why don't we, as a teacher-training institution, do something. Surely we have a particular kind of nature and function and maybe we can do some things." He talked to a number of faculty members; he persuaded the Administration to provide a station wagon and some expense money for a number of people to spend a long weekend in Chicago visiting the Center for Inner-City Studies, to see if there might be something there to be learned by this teacher-training institution in the middle of virtually all-white Iowa.

The group which went into Chicago was an interesting collection of faculty members. There was one historian, one political scientist, one sociologist, one professor of English, one librarian -- Miss Eakin, (who has since joined the Department of Education, and is here this noon), one member of the Department of Education, and a part-time black graduate student who was also at that time Director of the Waterloo Human Rights Commission. I was not among the group.

These people came back from Chicago very enthused. They made a report to the President, and to the Vice President for Academic Affairs. On the basis of this report a committee was established, The Committee on University Responsibilities for Minority Group Education. This committee has from the beginning been somewhat different or unique, I think, in that it has had both faculty members and non-University people on it. The faculty members on it come from a variety of disciplines within the University. The non-faculty members have been black and white, from both Waterloo and Cedar Falls, public school people and laymen. The thought was that for the University to be really effective in the field of minority group education, it must somehow establish ties and links with the non-University community -- black and white, school people and laymen. The Committee on University Responsibility of Minority Education, continues to have this very heterogeneous membership, including several students.

The committee, as committees often do, soon found itself establishing a number of subcommittees. I want to tell you the subcommittee names, and then say something about some of them. There is a Center subcommittee, a Curricula subcommittee, a Campus Environment subcommittee, an Integration of Schools subcommittee, an In-Service Training subcommitte, an Open-Discussions subcommittee, and a Utilization of Resources subcommittee.

What, if anything, have we done since the establishment early in 1968 of both a committee and a number of subcommittees? We have done several things which haven't gotten as far off the ground as we had hoped. Let me suggest them to you.

A new position was created in the University table of organization -- a position labeled Director of Special Community Services, and the man hired to be Director of Special Community Services was to direct the University program on minority group education. He would, among other things, head the Center in black Waterloo, which would be an extension of this campus, along the general lines of the Center for Inner-City Studies in Chicago. Hopefully, he would work with our teacher-education program, with our other academic departments, and with the public schools throughout the State, to better prepare future teachers, and to work with other teachers already in the field.

The University hired an outstanding man to head our Minority Group Education Program, but at the last minute he was unable for personal reasons to come. This is one reason I am here today, because when, at the beginning of school, we found that the Director could not come, several people in the administration said, "What do we do now?" One thing which was done was to ask me to teach less, but to talk more often to non-classroom groups. We are now looking for a Director of Special Community Services, a black man who will be our leader in the field of minority group education.

We have begun some other programs in minority group education. We have integrated our Campus Laboratory School. Remember, please, that Cedar Falls is 99.9 percent white. We we went to Waterloo late last summer, found some black students who wished to attend the Laboratory School and brought them over. They are bussed daily. Thirteen this fall, 55 or 60 next fall, 100 the year after that, at which time the Laboratory School will be about 15 percent black.

We integrated the Lab School for several reasons. One was so that those students who do their student teaching at the Laboratory School would thereby have a wider experience in education through having some black students in their student teaching classrooms. Another reason was so that the much larger number of teacher-education students who engage in either observation or participation at the Laboratory School would have a similar opportunity.

Most of our student teaching is done in all-white schools. Some student teachers go to the East Side of Waterloo, into classrooms with black students, but unless you student teach on the East Side of Waterloo, the odds are very much against your teaching in other than an all-white classroom. By bringing black students to the Laboratory School, we increased significantly the number of our student teachers who can have this experience and become better prepared to teach all kinds of students in all kinds of classrooms.

Speaking as a parent of children who attend the Laboratory School, I might add that another reason some of us worked to integrate the school was because we believed that the education of our own children would be fuller and better and enriched, if they had black children as classmates.

You may have noticed the story on the back page of the November 8, 1969, Northern Iowan, the student newspaper. The Afro-American society at UNI has submitted to the Minority Group Education Committee, a number of requests, including request for the recruitment of more black students and teachers. We have also heard speakers in the last two days, especially Dr. Larson and Mr. Wheeler, tell us that we need more black faces in otherwise white classrooms.

In the University we did about the same thing that we did in the Lab School -- we did a last-minute recruiting job in Waterloo, and recruited thirteen black students who were 1968 graduates of East High School to attend UNI this year. When you stop and think back to the statistics I gave you earlier about the UNI student body, you can see that thirteen additional black students meant a one-third increase in the number of Afro-American students enrolled here. These thirteen students are receiving financial aid as well as supportive educational services. Next year we plan to start much earlier and to recruit minority group students from all Iowa high schools with such students.

About black faculty -- we've virtually nothing accomplished. We have one black faculty member this year; we had three last year. One of them is now away on leave. Evidently finding black faculty members is getting harder and harder because it's fashionable to search for and to have a black faculty member or two. I suspect we may well have to change our recruiting -- the faculty admissions standards -- really to have black faculty members in the future. We should have a significant number of black faculty if we are really to do much in the area of minority group education.

We also have a faculty self-education program. This summer Miss Eakin led a study group composed of faculty members who wanted to explore somewhat systematically various aspects of the racial question in this country. This fall a similar program is underway.

In connection with the education of the faculty and the student body, speakers in minority group education are being brought to the campus. This year, Jonathan Kozol, Samuel Proctor, and Eugene Bucchioni will spend a day or two on our campus.

Certain curricular changes are being made. Dr. John Lindberg, who has attended most of the sessions yesterday and today, will offer next semester a course in "Afro-American Literature." I will offer a course in "Afro-American History." The Education Department has a course in "The Education of the Disadvantaged Child." More importantly, I think, a special curriculum committee has been appointed to study the curriculum from the whole standpoint of minority group education. Hopefully, this is a from-the-bottom-up effort, the suggestions for curricular reform to come from individual departments. Quite frankly, some departments need more prodding than others.

We have just initiated in the last week exploratory conversations with the Waterloo Public Schools, with an eye to placing more of our students in East Side classrooms. Those students would go there for participation and observation experiences for the "Teacher and Child" and from the "Psychology of Learning" courses. This will help solve space (room) problems at the Laboratory School, and will also help us by providing some of our students an opportunity early in their education to get into classrooms which are something other than all-white, all-middle-class.

One last word about the role of our faculty in all of this. Many faculty members, and the Administration, are quite committed to doing some pretty important things in the area of minority group education. Some faculty members feel that the Administration moves too slowly at times. There are also faculty members who think the University has gone too far too fast. To bring 100 black students (by September of 1970) from Waterloo to the

Campus School means telling some Cedar Falls parents and faculty members, "Sorry, but we will not be able to take your children at the Lab School." Some parents, including University faculty members, who purchased homes in the regular Lab School attendance area resent the fact that their children will probably be "bumped" by black students from Waterloo.

1968-1969 has not been a good year for faculty salaries at UNI. Some faculty have expressed special discontent about the Minority Group Education Program, seeing the money spent on the new program as one reason salary increases were so small this year. Faculty members not especially sympathetic to the new program to begin with, felt particularly aggrieved when the new program and minimal salary increases came at the same time. The decision of the Committee on University Responsibility for Minority Group Education, that the new director of the program must be black also disturbed some faculty members. As you might expect in any group of 500 people, the UNI faculty has expressed a variety of responses to the new University program in minority group education.

There is, however, in many parts of the University, a feeling that we have much important work to do in this area, and that we should move on as many fronts as possible, as rapidly as we can. There is substantial Administration support for the program. The University has come quite a way in the last eight to ten months. We have a long way yet to go.

We are somewhat cognizant of how little we know, whether it's about how to recruit black faculty or students, or how to establish new and more meaningful admission and retention standards for students from different cultural backgrounds. We also know less than we should about how to make the whole campus environment attractive to minority group students and teachers.

This pretty well describes what the University of Northern Iowa is doing and planning to do, in the area of minority group education. We would appreciate an opportunity to compare notes with you about your schools and their programs, to answer any questions you may have about our program, and to listen to any suggestions you may wish to make. We purposely made this presentation somewhat short so that there would be an opportunity for discussion, so now let's hear your thoughts, questions, and suggestions.

Chapter Eight

INNER-CITY EDUCATION AND TEACHER PREPARATION

"Teacher Preparation: Alienation or Realization"

Virginia L. Hash, Assistant Professor of
Education, University of Northern Iowa

There is an anecdote about a shipwrecked sailor who had spent three years on a desert island and was overjoyed one day to see a ship drop anchor in the bay. A small boat came ashore and an officer handed the sailor several newspapers.

"The captain suggests," he told the marooned sailor, "that you read what's going on in the world and then let us know if you still want to be rescued."

This little commentary on current events may or may not be amusing to you, but perhaps one can draw from it implications for education as it exists today. Our modern society is one based on a vast technological system which has opened great new fields for exploration and development. These advances along with an expanding economy of things and machines have allowed people to achieve a certain contentment with life. However, this same technological emphasis has created alienation in significant aspects of our lives. Machines are present everywhere and people have become machine-oriented rather than people-oriented. Alienation from self becomes acute as machines replace people, and this results in a loss of identity and consequently an alienation from the environment. One has to look no further than the morning newspaper to see the manifestations of this alienation; war, violent crime, corruption, campus riots, poverty, to mention only a few.

The education system has not helped students overcome alienation, for it too has an emphasis on technology, or more specifically, a major outgrowth of technology, specialization. Specialization has meant higher and higher education, and colleges and universities have become technical schools or only stepping stones to the graduate school and an even more specialized niche in society. This is true because 'success' in society has depended, in many instances, upon the degree of specialization one achieves. In the throes of this specialization, very little opportunity has been provided for effective communication between teacher and student. Thus, a more complete alienation has been effected.

If the above statements are true, then those task forces and scholars who prepare teachers face tremendous challenges. It would seem essential to think long and hard about the kinds of people and society seen as desired and desirable. If the technological school leaves something out and education is to become more than instruction, then we must somehow find ways to develop an education which will combine theoretical insights and personal experiences. Deep and lasting personal contacts must be an integral part of any educative process. "The warmth of individual for individual...must offset the cool objectivity and impersonality of the machine, as well as provide an important motivational base for further learning."[1] Teacher education institutions must respond to the need for a more humanizing education which respects individuality. Somehow we must adapt our schools to the idea that man is a thinking, feeling, doing, aspiring creature. Thus far, for the most part, the attempts to bridge the gap between the theory of the teacher training institutions and the reality of the everyday classroom situation have been most ineffective. What direction then can these same institutions that ultimately reach every phase of our lives take toward humanizing instruction and further allaying alienation?

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[1] Elizabeth C. Wilson, "The Knowledge Machine," The Education Digest, Volume XXXIV, Number 6, February, 1969, p. 4.

First, each institution must share the common commitment to prepare the best possible teacher. The kind of person envisioned is a well educated and mature adult with a professional commitment to education and to working with learners as individuals regardless of whether they are children or adults or come from Shantytown Street or Blue Blood Boulevard.

Secondly, there needs to be a redefinition of the purpose of teacher education. No longer can it just be a cognitive roadmap for teaching, but it must also help establish a value map. Teacher education must be flexible and appropriate. An opportunity can hardly be real for a person whose background has so limited him that he cannot see it. It is becoming increasingly evident that a child's learning is enhanced if it is centered upon his own experiences, needs and interests and if he can participate in the direction of his own learning activities. It would seem that a compelling task for teacher education today is to serve as an instrument for constructive change as well as to foster the spirit of individualization within the profession.

Thirdly, there must be an increased awareness that the racial or ethnic group and the social class to which one belongs influences the shape of his personality as well as his adjustment to the total society. The disadvantaged child from the inner city has adopted values to deal with his immediate life situation. These values do not always enable him to succeed in school. In fact, by middle class standards, any child is considered a failure if he does not achieve academically. School to the slum child becomes a threatening and frightening event. And this alienation is further reinforced if the teacher makes no effort to understand the many mitigating factors involved. It is clear that schools can offer nothing of lasting value until teachers respect what people are and that each individual has something to offer.

A perusal of curricula from several teacher education institutions indicates that the skills necessary for successful, creative teaching are developed to some extent through observing and participating with children in a learning environment. Unfortunately, in many teacher education programs, prospective teachers gain little or no practical experience beyond their student teaching experience which normally occurs near the very end of the student's undergraduate education. An unfortunate consequence of this situation is the lack of connection between what is learned in the college classroom and practical experience gained from working directly with children.

The University of Northern Iowa seeks to improve upon this condition by providing its students early, frequent, and extended experiences with children. Serious efforts are being made to tie these practical experiences to the student's professional education courses. During his sophomore year, the student is introduced to the first course in education. This course provides many opportunities for a thorough understanding of what is involved in a teaching career. Furthermore, it should cause the young person to look reflectively at all phases of education and to consider the wisdom of his decision to become a teacher. Hopefully then, the student enters the profession with a more reasoned commitment because he has visited classrooms and pictured himself as the person in charge of instruction.

A very valuable aspect of this beginning course is the opportunity for the student to become involved in the teaching-learning process through a series of required observational experiences. Observation is certainly an important method used in gathering data necessary for solving problems. These experiences provide opportunities for the future teacher to (1) become familiar with the variety of methods and techniques used in instruction and class management; (2) acquire information about the sources, uses, and conservation of teaching materials and; (3) integrate information and knowledge derived from the college education class with the actual teaching-learning situation. It is suggested that these observations be made in different grade levels and in different learning situations so that a better idea of pupil development may be obtained. Although the close proximity of the University's laboratory school to the central campus facilitates observing, students are urged to observe in as many other schools in the larger community as possible.

With the realization that observational experiences are really only a first step, the faculty members appointed to teach the first professional education course at the University of Northern Iowa are encouraging their students to participate as volunteers in various community projects that involve children. Hopefully a more complete correlation of theory and practice will be effected.

In terms of the number of student volunteers, one of the more successful community volunteer programs has been involvement with the Head Start program. The Waterloo-Cedar Falls area has a year-round Head Start program with two classes at each of eight centers. At the beginning of each college semester, a meeting of all interested education students is scheduled with the Head Start representatives. The representatives discuss their program, point out their various needs, and secure the time of day and day of week the college students wish to volunteer. Most students volunteer for a two-hour block of time once a week. Approximately 125 students have been involved each semester.

This procedure has served as a model in developing on-going programs of a similar nature with other community projects. The many successful out-of-class voluntary experiences include: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Gra-Y and Y-Teens programs of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., tutors in Neighborhood Youth Centers and in schools in economically deprived areas of the city, church school helpers and teachers, reading helpers with elementary school children, 4-H clubs, and assistance with various special education classes.

The experiences of participating in a classroom on a professional basis under the supervision of a master teacher occurs during the U.N.I. student's junior year. Before becoming an active participant in the classroom, opportunity is afforded for further study of human psychology and learning theory. A number of schools with varying social, ethnic, and racial components are available for the actual participation experience so that a student, if he chooses, may have contact with people unlike himself. As an adjunct, the prospective teacher is exposed to a number of new techniques and conceptual models which have been designed to study teacher and student behaviors more effectively. Among these are micro-teaching, simulation, and verbal interaction analysis.

The nine weeks of student teaching occur during the senior year. Through all the many professional laboratory experiences the University of Northern Iowa's undergraduate education student sharpens his skills of observation and inquiry. Applying what he has learned from his various academic studies, the prospective teacher is able to focus upon the processes of learning and the techniques used by various teachers to promote learning. Knowledge and perceptions are gained about children as individuals and in groups and about their relationships with teachers and with each other. The student has had an opportunity to diagnose individual learning problems and to manage group behavior. It is with these kinds of experiences and exposures that prospective teachers gain insight concerning their assumptions about children, the nature of learning, the process of education and the role of the teacher. It is a professional program oriented for student growth and provides for information, for involvement, and for personal exploration and discovery.

The path of teacher education is strewn with many obstacles. Education assumes change. Loban has pointed out, experience is the basis for learning: "Modern societies have never fully envisioned the educational uses of experience and as a result schools remain excessively verbal in their emphasis and incomplete in their accomplishments."[2] It would seem that because of the many demands placed on them by society, schools have found themselves in the position of a sailboat on a stormy sea. Because of insufficient planning, absence of clearly formulated philosophy, lack of human understanding and empathy that is essential for both the suburban child and the ghetto child, the boat is buffeted by every gale. If our schools, and their inhabitants, are not to be alienated, removed from, and unconcerned with the pressing problems of our civilization, it would appear that teacher education institutions must leave no stone unturned in their efforts to be viable, truly functional and real.

The words of Thomas Huxley serve as a challenge:

> The rung of a ladder was never meant to rest upon, but only to hold a man's foot long enough to enable him to put the other somewhat higher.[3]

Teacher preparation for work in the inner city, the rural community, or suburb must be real. It should be the first step in the ladder of the education profession.

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[2] Walter Loban, Literature and Social Sensitivity, (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1954), p. 63.

[3] Thomas H. Huxley, Science and Education, (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1901), p. 257.

INNER-CITY EDUCATION AND TEACHER PREPARATION (Continued)

"Sensitivity and the Group Learning Process"

John M. Earls, Assistant Professor of
Education, University of Northern Iowa

Much of the recent research dealing with the disadvantaged child has been directed toward helping society in general and educators in particular look at the problems of the disadvantaged from the frame of reference of the disadvantaged himself. It has been only during the last decade that educational thought has dealt with such problems in a realistic, mature manner that strives to view the ghetto through the eyes of ghetto dwellers. Shumsky, in his recent book, In Search of Teaching Styles, states that the dominant note in educational theory today is "... denoted by a high level of realism and determination to change."[1] He identifies two basic stages of thought concerning educational deprivation. The first stage is concerned with the concept of cultural relativism -- which dominated during the 1940's and 1950's. The second state is characterized by a realistic determination to alter the situation. Cultural relativism led to ". . . increased insight into the dynamics of the relationship between social class and personality development . . ." and to a second impact which he deems as basically negative in nature. This second impact led to the classroom teacher's feeling that he must be objective about the deprived youngsters; he must be careful not to impose his middle class values on these students; and he should be hesitant and cautious in making value judgments about lower class children. Shumsky maintains that while this cultural relativism concept led to increased understanding between the two cultures and to a strengthened desire to see the two cultures live harmoniously side by side, it ". . . _did not_ move educators sufficiently toward constructive action to help the disadvantaged child get out from under the enormous destructive elements in his life."[2]

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[1] Abraham Shumsky, In Search of Teaching Style, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), p. 179.

Now, however, educational thought has taken a far more realistic and positive view and as Shumsky states ". . . while the previous stage stressed the acceptance of differences and the diminishing of prejudice the present emphasis is on rehabilitation through learning."[3] Along with this emphasis has come a greater understanding of the basic needs of the novice teacher as he learns to work with the disadvantaged learner. All too often the novice teacher confuses assertion of authority with authoritarianism and he feels guilt and a sense of defeat when he finds himself forced to assert his authority in the classroom. Guilt over disciplinary encounters may lead to a rigidity that in turn forces him to react in a far more authoritarian manner than he views as desirable, with the result that in his own mind he is not living up to his image of the ideal teacher.

Shumsky points out that many students enter the teaching profession because of a drive or desire to love, to give, to come close to and to reach children. At the same time they fear rejection. Consequently, when a discipline crisis arises, the novice teacher in the ghetto school is often unable to handle it and still maintain his image of self as an accepting, loving, democratic teacher. As a result of repeated experiences of this kind many novice teachers become rigid, authoritarian, or perhaps give up altogether, leave the ghetto schools and move to suburban white, middle-class schools where they think they can be the kind of teachers they want to be.

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[2] _Ibid_. p. 183.

[3] _Ibid_. p. 184.

One of the most basic problems of developing teachers for the disadvantaged revolves around the questions -- "How do we get these future teachers to view both themselves and their role as teachers in a realistic, honest manner?" "How can they be helped to look closely and fearlessly at their needs and their goals?" It seems evident that until this kind of self-understanding occurs it is unrealistic to expect that these teachers will be able to learn to look at the ghetto child and his world through any but clouded eyes. His eyes will remain clouded with sentiment and pity, with feelings of prejudice and insecurity, or with a false sense of objectivity. It is only through realistic, honest, clear-sighted vision that the plight of the urban ghetto child can be ameliorated.

How then does one gain this kind of vision? What steps can be taken to develop honest, insightful teachers who recognize their own strengths and weaknesses? Perhaps one of the most promising areas of thought for this problem is that of sensitivity training. The goal of sensitivity training is to stir and prod ". . . people into taking a good close look at themselves and at their relations with others."[4] Training of this type is an experienced-based learning activity which is directed toward helping the participants think and feel differently about the human relations problems they may encounter. As Wechsler points out in his text, Inside a Sensitivity Training Group, there are two facets to such training. The first involves helping participants increase their awareness of how others think, feel and are likely to behave. This is social sensitivity. The second facet consists of helping the participants acquire the ability to act appropriately in varying interpersonal situations. This is termed behavioral flexibility. As the participants interact in one-to-one and in group situations and learn to recognize the various social pressures arising out of human relationships, they hopefully are enlarging their behavioral repertoires, are becoming more aware of their personal strengths, are learning to distinguish between real and imaginary pressures, and are increasing their capacities to speak and act as free, strong, and considerate individuals.

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[4] Irving R. Weschler, Inside a Sensitivity Training Group, Institute of Industrial Relations, (Los Angeles: University of California, 1959), p. 1.

The assumptions underlying sensitivity training help to explain further the theory and to elucidate the operational mechanisms that develop within the participants as a result of their training experiences. The first assumption is that the essential sources of personal growth and development lie within the individual himself and no attempt should be made to force change. The basic role of the trainer is to help create the conditions under which the individual can gain a new self-perspective. The second assumption is that people do want control of their destinies; they do desire healthy relationships with others; they do want to operate with a minimum of fears and doubts about themselves and others with whom they interact. The third assumption is that in order for productive social learning to take place there must be interaction with other people. As the participants learn to work with one another they are urged to comment on their experiences; spontaneous, free and open communication is encouraged. "Each person creates for himself as well as for the others of his training group a set of mirrors in which values, attitudes, and behaviors can be reflected."[5] The fourth assumption is that ". . . the setting of a climate for learning is essentially a matter of facilitating certain group norms which permit the individual to learn."[6]

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[5] *Ibid.* p. 2.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 2.

Such norms allow exposure to new ideas and feelings and the supportive atmosphere of the group permits the participant to look at his own inadequacies and to try out new ideas, new attitudes, and new feelings. The final assumption states that personal growth is best promoted in a learning situation in which the participant is respected and his right to be different is protected.

As the above assumptions imply, the basic purpose of sensitivity training is to help individuals look closely and honestly at their feelings and attitudes and to learn to trust others enough to express these feelings and to try out new feelings. The implication is that people can change their attitudes and their ways of thinking if certain kinds of conditions are available to them.

The actual operation of a training group (T Group) depends upon the following factors: the goals of the group, the members themselves, the trainer, and the time involved. Basically, participants in a T Group work together in subgroups for a limited period of time, which ranges from 10 to 40 hours. It is during this initial period that they learn to analyze their own feelings, reactions, perceptions, and overt behaviors. They may meet in a marathon weekend program or for several hours a day in a two-week residential program, or over an entire semester as many university students are now doing. A trainer is assigned to the group and it is his goal to help the group develop the skills that will enable it to function, without him playing the role of the traditional chairman.

The experiences of the participants vary as do the purpose and composition of each group. Each group develops its own special personality. Wechsler points out that each and every group is influenced by some critical events and it is these events that eventually give the group its unique character. As these crises occur and are worked through, the group will begin to develop its decision-making power and the individuals learn to analyze and discuss their feelings and reactions to the crises. One of the initial topics for discussion in any T Group should be "What are we here for?" Discussion of the participants' reasons for joining the group will serve to generate additional topics for group discussion. Subsequent sessions should provide opportunities for the group to respond to a question such as "What would you like to know about a person in order to work with him (or her) effectively?" Small group discussion of the responses follows. The participants are urged to record their reactions to the discussion, to analyze the roles they played, and to evaluate the experience. Another session may be centered around a discussion of their written responses to such a question as "Who am I?"

Tensions are inevitably generated within the T Groups. The tensions thus created may be actively used by the trainer as a technique to force the group to look at itself and to force individuals to look at their reactions to both the tension and the responses of other members of the group. For example, the film, "Eye of the Beholder", may be used as a device to help the participants realize that individual perceptual sets will predetermine to a great extent what individuals perceive in any given situation. One T Group experience recently reported on a broadcast of "The 21st Century" involved the donning of masks and role playing of the personalities related to the mask. This experience was conducted with a group of black and white industrial supervisors who were shortly to be faced with employment of a group of hard-core unemployed people. Some masks were black, some white, some female, some male. The participants were asked to play a variety of roles -- black male supervisor interviewing a white woman, white male supervisor discussing punctuality with an habitually tardy black worker, and so forth. The objective of the session was to provide opportunities for a wide range of emotional experiences that would provide insight into the reasons for the misunderstandings that occur between employer and employee, between male and female, between black and white, and between the poor and the affluent.

Some of the problems T Groups are urged to consider include the recognition of hostility when it arises, the acceptance, and encouragement of nonconformity, the ways of dealing with hostility and aggression, and the methods of charting a middle course between majority rule and minority tyranny.

All T Group leaders must emphasize that it is the responsibility of each individual member to do his utmost for the group. Each group member is pressed to operate at his full potential because group effectiveness is contingent upon everyone's ability and willingness to contribute. Wechsler terms this the "eight cylinder" phenomenon. Some group members function on only one or two cylinders while others seem to function on 12 though they perhaps have only six.

Some people seem to benefit to a very minimal extent from T Group sessions, while others gain great insight into their own feelings and behavior. As one trainee phrased it ". . . I have learned more about myself and others than through any other single experience in my 22 years . . . . I have learned something that isn't written in the books -- about myself, my fears, my actions, needs, and drives."[7]

The National Training Laboratory Institute for Applied Behavioral Science has conducted extensive research concerning sensitivity training and offers the following generalizations for consideration:

1. People who attend sensitivity training programs are more likely to improve their managerial skills than those who do not.

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[7] *Ibid.* p. 117.

2. Approximately two thirds of the participants were observed to increase their skills after attending T Group sessions.

3. Many individuals report extremely significant changes and impact on their lives as workers, family members and citizens.

4. It is estimated that less than one percent of the participants experience serious stress and mental disturbance during sensitivity training.[8]

The most recent trend in sensitivity training seems to be that of colleges offering sensitivity training as a regular credit course. The courses are variously titled: "Analysis of Behavior in Groups", "Human Groups" or "Analysis of Group Participation." There are certain difficulties inherent in offering such training as a regular classroom experience which lead to ambivalence on the part of instructors and students as to the value of the training in these circumstances. As one researcher states: "The educational environment and climate of the university work against the successful re-educative use of T Groups in the classroom by (1) emphasizing the cognitive components; and de-emphasizing the effective and behavioral components, and (2) placing demands upon the student's time which interferes with the more unstructured, self-initiated, ambiguous aspects of learning in the T Groups."[9]

A procedure that has definite potential involves the division of the group into the "accepted" subgroup and the "rejected" subgroup. Such a division is most appropriately based on an observable characteristic such as hair or eye color, sex, or age level. For example, group members with brown hair may be designated as the "accepted" subgroup. Thereafter they would be granted privileges and given compliments and considerations from the group leader. The remaining group members with the other hair colors would then serve as the "rejected" group. They would be criticized, punished, or ignored throughout this phase of the sensitization process. The extent to which the group leader can ethically initiate such a program of discrimination depends on the maturity and background of his students. This seemingly innocuous procedure has the potential of generating strong emotional reactions and a high degree of caution must therefore be exercised by the group leader.

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[8] Human Relations Training News, "Sensitivity Training in the Classroom," Volume 11, No. 3, (Washington, D.C.: 1967).

[9] News and Reports from NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, Volume 2, No. 2, (Washington, D.C.: April, 1968).

Another trend in sensitivity training is to offer specific laboratories or workshops for highly specific purposes, for example, one is titled, "On Being Married to a People Helper." This workshop is only for married couples, and one member of each couple must be a member of a helping profession such as psychiatry, clinical psychology or social work. Another workshop is titled, "New Methods for Classroom Learning" and is open only to black high school students in a certain city. The purpose in this case is to seek ways to make learning relevant to life goals. It is this latter type of sensitivity training that seems to offer the most promise for the disadvantaged learner and his teachers.

Laboratories may be set up that specifically deal with the ghetto school, the urban disadvantaged learner, or the novice teacher in the ghetto school. A first step might be to have a core of teachers from a ghetto school participate in a T Group experience. The teachers who have been successful throughout the training program and have achieved a high degree of skill in human relations could then become the nucleus of a teaching team in a ghetto school. Their task at such schools would be twofold. They could not only serve as trainers for student sensitivity training groups but also for in-service groups of other teachers.

Thus a core of well trained teachers could become the disseminators of information relating to the concepts and principles of sensitivity training to an ever increasing radius of people that eventually might include not only teachers and students in the ghetto school, but also parents, administrators, and community members at large. The overall goal of such a program would be to help the participants learn to view themselves with honesty and to move toward attitudinal change with confidence and trust in both themselves and in others. If this first step can be achieved then the climate for optimal learning situations can be developed. But until all the individuals involved in the learning situation can view themselves with such honesty and self-understanding, it seems unduly optimistic to expect that effective solutions to the problems of the urban ghetto communities will be forthcoming.

INNER-CITY EDUCATION AND TEACHER PREPARATION (Continued)

"Disadvantaged Black Youth and the Student Teacher"*

Dan Oppleman, Professor of Education

University of Northern Iowa

While all student teachers cannot and should not be directed toward working exclusively with disadvantaged youth as "special education" teachers, it is quite clear that all student teachers require definite and immediate guidance to deal with a problem that has festered far too long in our society. Except for the specialists, most of the insights on understanding disadvantaged youth available to the trainee have come as token references, in a few courses in the general education curriculum, in still fewer courses on the undergraduate level in pertinent social sciences, and in almost insignificant exposure in the pre-professional component of student teaching.

Even though the educational problem of dealing effectively in the classroom with these distressed youth is by no means restricted by color, creed, or race, it would be futile to argue negatively that the most demanding call at the moment is for expeditious handling of the matter as it relates particularly to disadvantaged black children. Words and pronouncements, persuasive oratory and long-range plans are not keys for the situation at hand, yet some few words of orientation, if for no other purpose than as a ground or framework, from and out of which to work, are clearly needed.

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*Reprinted by permission of Midland Schools, January-February, 1969.

Blacks are at long last finding the rare opportunities to voice the feelings of centuries that they should and must be recognized as human beings on an absolutely equal and unreserved basis; this essential equality as free men must have built upon it equal opportunities in education, work, and housing without any delays. ("Without reasonable delay" is itself a delaying device.) We should remind ourselves at this point that equality cannot be equivocated -- to place any restriction or limits upon it, is to deny its moral worth.

Damage done to the disadvantaged youth, in terms of his self-image, his aspirations, his general psyche, and his desire for worthy home and social membership, is usually wreaked upon him before adolescence. The harsh and distasteful, and almost irrevocable fact is that too few can be rescued after this point is reached. It is rotten logic to assume that disadvantaged black youth can be suddenly thrust into college on an assumed equal rating with white peers. Too much has already been denied, that in effect they come as intellectual and psychic cripples. But the remedial steps for this particular problem go beyond the measures that can be executed now in the lower, middle, and upper schools!

To assert that areas, urban, suburban or rural, where black population is sparse does not command the same attention devoted to populous centers, is to miss an important point. It is precisely the hiatus (here meant as a gap with a part missing) in the general education of whites in our country during three centuries concerning black culture, that has resulted in the ills confronting us. No special focus for blame is sought, but the current educational process, starting with its roots in colonial days, has fatefully developed the current social, economic and moral illnesses, too clearly revealed in attitudes and actions, that beset both whites and blacks.

There are random examples of commendable efforts to prepare the student teacher to meet the problems of disadvantaged black youth, but for a dozen or more suggestions, nay, please, for steps that can be implemented at once, the following are recommended where appropriate -- to teacher educators in the colleges, to school administrators, to student teacher supervisors in the schools, and not the least, to the student teachers themselves.

1. Set up in every library -- college, school and public, an easily identified collection of books, papers, periodicals and pictures dealing with black history and culture. Reading and research should be assigned by those competent to make the choices.

2. Set up displays of all kinds in schools, colleges, public buildings and other public areas, with an obvious and continuing emphasis on black culture.

3. Conduct pre-professional and in-service conferences, seminars or workshops for student teachers, utilizing local and other competent blacks where possible, but including psychologists, mental health and social workers.

4. Reorganize the existing programs of general education to include black culture; e.g., art, music, science, literature, education, etc.

5. Introduce new and unique courses with the emphasis on black culture, socio-psychology, economy, and the complex of related fields.

6. Include in both pre-professional and in-service training, visits to black ghetto areas; enhance this with verbal confrontations with a wide variety of black citizens.

7. Augment the existing observations and participations in the pre-professional training period with the inclusion of black or partially black schoolrooms.

8. Increase the opportunities for field experience in student teaching in schools of the inner city.

9. Require youth and community service in black or part-black areas as a portion of the pre-professional training. Use parts of the summer, evenings or weekends, for volunteer work with scouts, youth groups, church schools, playgrounds and at community centers.

10. Make efforts to secure, show and critique films and videotapes dealing with blacks and their problems, including popular films, documentaries and specially prepared materials, from urban leagues, Anti-Defamation League, brotherhood groups, UNESCO, and like organizations.

11. Make a determined search all along the line in colleges and schools, for black administrators, teachers and supervisors, not only to serve the superficial purposes of education, but as much needed models for black youth.

12. Make every effort to encourage black youth early, no later surely than junior high, to set their sights and minds on professional futures, and opportunities that offer advancement.

13. Try to understand the black argot, especially "soul" as it relates to brothers, music, food, behavior, and expressed words and feelings.

14. Arrange "soul food" and "soul music" sessions cooperatively with black youth.

From the above suggestions it may be possible to find only a few which one may be in a position to implement immediately. But with only one or two avenues of action, the clarion call is "Do it now!", keeping clearly in focus the constant and unalterable guide of the unreserved equality of blacks as human beings.

INNER-CITY EDUCATION AND TEACHER PREPARATION (Continued)

"Urbanism, A Problem of Response, Relevance and Reconstruction of Teacher Education"

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The Response to Urbanism

On the eve of the twentieth century the United States was a rapidly expanding nation with a proud record and bright prospects for the future. The conclusion of the Spanish-American War marked the end of comparative isolation and emergence of the nation as a world power. America faced a comparable shift in its internal structure, and the reform of her basic social institutions became necessary.

Foremost among these institutions was education. The industrial growth of the nation had created capital which was used to finance the expanding educational program. Better means of transportation and communication brought people together and made schools more readily available. Cheaper books and more of them coming from the printing presses along with newspapers and magazines made formal education more desirable and necessary. The bitter struggle between labor and capital pointed to the need for more social education.

In response to these social demands, American education would adapt to the new needs of the society. The increased knowledge in science and technology brought about by the industrial revolution was further expanded by educational research. In higher education the institution most adaptable to this new knowledge was the university These institutions accelerated the process of industrialization and urbanization by educating increasing numbers of scientists, technicians, and skilled professionals.

The movement for consolidation in the economic sphere of society also had its counterparts in education. The increasingly greater numbers of people living in the cities created the need for larger and more diverse educational institutions. This growth and consolidation appeared at all levels of education. Its most important manifestation was in the organizational pattern of the large, new multi-purpose urban university such as Chicago and Columbia, which were representative examples of the practical realization of these educational demands. The increasing number of professions developed by the needs of this growing urban society found the university pattern the one most adaptable to their needs for trained personnel.

The urban way of life in the 1890's also created a number of new complex problems and the sprawling disorganized metropolis was one of the major concerns. Cities had been poorly planned and hastily erected to meet the new economic and industrial demands. The rapid growth of cities was further complicated by the inability of the new inhabitants from rural environments to adapt to urban living. Americans had a traditional faith that education could solve these problems. A new kind of education had to be constructed to meet the social and economic needs of the city dweller. The education of an earlier America was largely fundamental, elementary and academic. Education was expanded to include social, economic, and industrial training and a more broadly educated teacher had to be trained to bring this new education to the people. The university became the center where the new academic disciplines of sociology, economics, education, political and social sciences were developed. These experts focused their critical attention on the society. Their criticisms and projected solutions to social issues were well received by the public.

The political corruption of the cities was viewed by Americans as a blight on the nation's progress. The group from which Americans believed they could receive help was the university people and in the programs proposed by these men, the earliest forms of Progressivism were manifested. University presidents such as Seth Low and William R. Harper viewed the social role of the university as the agency of change toward a better urban society. The chief theoretical concern of men like John Dewey, Francis Parker, and Nicholas M. Butler, was the creation of a socially meaningful education in order to raise the standards of American society. The new social and economic conditions of America were interpreted by these educational leaders to mean that if American education was to fulfill its social role it had to expand to meet these new social needs. As a response of the reformers and as their solution for its problem, professional education and graduate teacher education programs were established in the urban universities.[1]

Relevance for Education -- the Urban Dilemma as Characterized in the Great Plains States.

Although American education was changed in our century, its transformation from rural to urban was never complete. The response had been sincere, but unfinished. Swift changes, economic, political, and war, all took their toll in thwarting attempts at innovation and experimentation in education; and the hopes and aspirations of the reformers never achieved completely effective programs. Certainly the political and social conservativism of the country during the Twenties did much to stifle the initiative of reform in education. Moreover, within the urban university, reforms were deterred by the nature of the institution themselves. Experimentation and innovation were narrowly conceived and interpreted and the teaching function of the universities took precedent over programs of change. This was especially true of the prestige urban universities, where study of the effects of urbanism was superceded by the education of elite professional groups which were demanded by the urban way of life.

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[1] Edward Rutkowski, "A Study of Various Viewpoints Expressed Concerning the Establishment of University Schools of Education 1890-1905," (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, College of Education, Michigan State University, 1963).

Cities became increasingly complex political and social entities as they spread to suburbs and education retreated behind the walls of its self-contained classrooms. As a consequence, the urban problem has grown to the point of insolvability, and events are outstripping our capacity to act either meaningfully or in time. Certainly, after recognition that this problem does exist, the frontier for change once again becomes education and teacher education in particular if we believe that education can bring about meaningful change. The question remains, "Is urbanism a genuine issue for education in the Great Plains States which are still considered rural, small-town, conservative, and isolated?"

In the Great Plains States urbanization has increased progressively in the last decades of the century. In 1960, 45.5 percent of the population of the states of Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, and South Dakota lived within thirteen urbanized areas according to the definition of the U. S. Census Bureau. Although this is a figure of smaller proportion than that of U. S. population living in metropolitan areas of the United States as a whole, it is growing at such a rapid rate that it will probably reach at least fifty percent by 1970, and, if trends as indicated continue, will increase in the future.

Some general conclusions follow which illustrate the nature of the problem for education. The thirteen metropolitan areas of the four Great Plains States are in various stages of development. For example, Kansas City and St. Louis are among the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the country, and are in what sociologists term the latter stages of urban complexity. None of the remaining eleven urban areas are typical of that stage of development that characterizes the nation's oldest and largest metropolitan areas. Moreover, the urban areas of the Great Plains States tend to be small and have experienced only moderate increases in their central city and suburbs. Eight of the thirteen urban areas are ranked in the bottom half in size of population among the metropolitan areas of the United States. As a result, major problems that have been associated with urbanism are changing the basic character of life in the Great Plains States.

Some of these are the perennial problems which were a concern of urban development since the beginning of cities. One of the most serious is the fragmentation of local government. St. Louis, which is the largest urban area, had 199 local governments in 1962 of which 48 were school districts. Dubuque, Iowa, (the smallest urban area) has a total of 40 local governments, 17 of them school districts serving a population of only 80,048 people. Another historic concern that is characteristic of urban development which appears in the Great Plains States is socio-economic stratification and racial segregation of the metropolitan areas. In addition, poverty is also a problem that tends to be concentrated in the central sections of urban areas of Missouri and Nebraska and it is a particular problem among non-whites in metropolitan areas of all four states. The percentage of non-white families having an income of less than $4,000 per year, as reported in the 1960 census, varied from a low of 44 in Waterloo, Iowa, to a high of 81 in Springfield, Illinois. Also full-fledged ghettos have been allowed to develop in such large urban areas as St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, and Des Moines.

The suburban phenomena, which was a post-war manifestation of urbanism, has emerged to complicate the urban crisis. Inadequate social environments for middle class students have developed in both single class sections of the city and suburbs. The suburban neighborhoods are much too homogeneous and middle class youngsters find them very boring, lacking in cultural activities, and stimulating environments necessary for their social and educational development. With a multiplicity and diversity of new social situations developing, and the increasing number of roles that people must play, it is becoming difficult for the urban society to function at all. More common understanding is needed so that people can aid each other in solving one another's problems of both home and community living.

The physical deterioration of the metropolitan area and the crisis in public finances has also been greatly increasing in recent years. Established business areas in the central city have been losing ground to the suburban shopping centers which are located along convenient highways. The challenge of physical and social urban renewal and alleviating the financial crisis in the central city is present in all the metropolitan areas throughout the Great Plains States. Certainly, as a solution to this problem, it is widely recognized that along with physical planning there must be social planning if anything is to be accomplished in solving the major problems of the metropolis. Universities in the future can play a key role in this new emerging task.[2]

Reconstruction in Professional Education

Education has always been the single most important social function of society and schools and it must be directly tied to the social context in which it functions. Teacher education has a paramount role to play in planning for the achievement of the goals to which most Americans aspire. Here is a unique opportunity for our former teachers colleges which are America's new universities. Although problems will necessarily develop out of their concern with the issue of urbanism, they also have some unique advantages. These institutions generally have not been located in the large urban areas and they can study urban problems from a perspective which does not immesh them with the city environment and its controversy. These new universities can learn from the failures which occurred in the programs offered by urban universities of the early 20th century. These institutions also have a particular historic mission which gives them a sense of purpose and direction because they have always been considered schools of the common people. Education for elite professions is generally not one of their commitments. These institutions, although many of them are now universities, are in practice teacher education institutions. Serving the needs of the majority of their students who attend with the purpose of becoming teachers, put them in the forefront of dealing with urbanism as an educational problem.

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[2] Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst. Emerging Urban Problems and Their Significance for School District Organization in the Great Plains States, Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, University of Missouri at Kansas City (Kansas City: By the authors, 1968).

Realistically, these schools must also face critical problems in taking on the issue of urban rejuvenation. They lack the financing, either by endowment or public monies, to carry on this difficult task. In many cases, their faculties, educational skills, and interests have not been geared to the study of urban society. A substantial effort must be the re-education of these faculties toward understanding the urban situation.

We have plans, methods, and experiments which can be utilized to tackle these problems. Urban problems disregard the old traditional notions of academic structure of the university. However, the lack of tradition in these new universities and their commitment to experimentation as heart of the progressive tradition of American teacher education can be capitalized on in dealing with the problem of urbanism. For the first time, if we are serious, we can test the concept that a city is really a university. The thrust of the traditional urban university has been always outward. They took in the students from the society, educated them, and returned them to the city. The teachers went out to speak or assist in some community program or the institution engaged in research that was utilized by government or industry. This can all be changed by conscious design, if we can measure up to the task.

At the University of Northern Iowa we are attempting to change by taking a different approach in trying to make the city the resource for the teacher education students. In Social Foundations of Education which is our last course, this approach is a critical issue. The major overarching concept of the course is directly related to urbanism. Because of this, for a number of years, the instructors have been attempting to adapt their course to these new needs. One of the most common but effective techniques that we have used in our courses is individual and committee reports. Students working singly or in groups have brought much relevant material back to the class in the form of oral and written reports, tape recordings, field trip reports, and speakers. They have also organized panel discussions of lay people, professionals and public figures and have presented these in class. For example, one group of students tape recorded a prominent Waterloo judge who as a Black American recounted both his people's social history and his own experience as a member of a minority group. This brought to the students of the class, who are in large measure white, small-town and rural in orientation, for the first time an appreciation of minority group difficulties in our culture. Field trips to Waterloo schools both public and private, at all levels of education, and in different neighborhoods have also presented to the students the reality of urban life and its problems. Some of this material has been gathered in an enrichment textbook that is available to all classes. The book entitled: THE AMERICAN TEACHER: HIS ORIGINS, CHARACTER, AND CONCERNS, is a compilation of edited tape recordings made by the students, material gathered by them, and interesting readings, cases, and articles collected by the instructor that have been mimeographed by the university for class use.[3]

Certainly, one of the most productive areas of involvement has been on an individual instructor basis which has done much to enhance this aspect of our teacher education program. One of our instructors has been successful in bringing the Tama Indians to the campus and video-taping a panel discussion for our classes. In this tape they describe their life as a minority group, and their hopes and fears as a people in our contemporary culture. Our instructors are also working closely with the university committee for minority group education. Because of the unique grouping of instructors who include both a wide variety of backgrounds and academic interests, we will try to utilize our personnel in the development of new approaches. Our major task will be the restructuring of the course which as a part of the professional sequence comes at the end of the program. Our main goal is to develop within the instructional staff, a growing awareness toward urban issued in teacher education. This is the new frontier of American education, and if we do not focus upon urbanism and its forces and issues in teacher education programs, we have failed our students; moreover, we are failing our obligation to American society.

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[3] Edward Rutkowski, The American Teacher: His Origins, Character and Concerns (Cedar Falls: University of Northern Iowa, 1967).

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34.	Dr. Dan Oppleman	Professor of Education
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